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GERMAN LITERATURE IN AMERICAN MAGAZINES
1846 TO 1880

BY

MARTIN HENRY HAERTEL

Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin

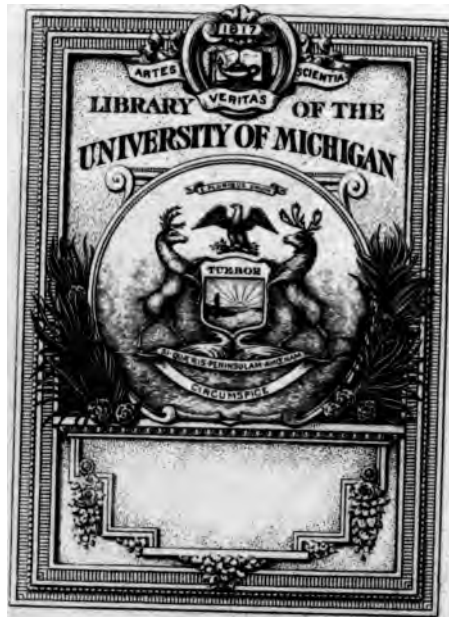
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABBREVIATIONS	4
INTRODUCTION	7
CLASSICAL PERIOD	11
THE PERIOD OF DECREASED INTEREST.....	23
THE PERIOD OF THE NOVEL.....	34
INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS AND MOVEMENTS.....	62
Lessing	62
Goethe	64
Schiller.....	76
The Romantic School	80
Heine.....	86
CONCLUSION.....	92
LIST A. Chronological List of References.....	95
LIST B. German Authors Referred to.....	179
LIST C. List of Journals Examined.....	186

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ABBREVIATIONS

Art.	Article.	Lit.	Literatur (e).
Autobiog.	Autobiography.	Mag.	Magazine.
Biog.	Biography.	Misc.	Miscellany.
Col.	Column.	Mo.	Monthly.
Contemp.	Contemporaneous.	N. Y.	New York.
Crit.	Criticism.	No.	Number.
Disc.	Discussion.	Phila.	Philadelphia.
Ed.	Edited.	Quart.	Quarterly.
Edinb.	Edinburgh.	Refer.	Reference.
For.	Foreign.	Repr.	Reprinted.
Gesch.	Geschichte.	Rev.	Review.
Hist.	History.	Tr.	Translated.
Inst.	Instalments.	Trans.	Translation (s).
Jo.	Journal.	Westm.	Westminster.

PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that I take advantage of this opportunity to express to Professor A. R. Hohlfeld my sincere gratitude for the many helpful suggestions that he has given me in the preparation of this thesis, and for the kindly interest that he has shown in my work at the University of Wisconsin. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Professors Dana C. Munro and E. K. J. H. Voss of Wisconsin, and to Professors Starr Willard Cutting and Hans Schmidt-Wartenberg of the University of Chicago. I shall always consider it a privilege to have done my graduate work under the guidance of these scholars.



GERMAN LITERATURE IN AMERICAN MAGAZINES 1846 TO 1880

INTRODUCTION

The awakening of an interest in German life and culture among the Americans, and particularly the gradual introduction of German literature to the readers of American magazines has been presented by Dr. S. H. Goodnight¹ and by Dr. E. Z. Davis.² They have shown how this literature, despite an opposition always considerable, and sometimes bitter, was eventually admitted to the pages of American journals as a legitimate subject of discussion, to be analyzed, commended, or adversely criticised on very nearly the same basis as the product of the English and American pen.

In discussing the earlier years of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to treat with some care the attitude of the average editor and contributor to American periodicals, not towards German literature alone, but towards all German life and culture, as the literature was not considered entirely on its own merits, but rather as one phase of the nation's civilization. In this thesis, on the other hand, which is to consider the development of American journalistic criticism of German literature from 1846 to 1880,—a period in which German letters were firmly established in the attention of the journals—the writer will confine himself to the attitude of the journals towards literature alone. The discussion will, in general, embrace only

¹ *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907.

² *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810*, Phila., 1905.

the articles on German literature which appeared in the journals of the period under consideration, and will touch on other phases of the broader question of the relations of the two countries concerned, only when this explanatory aid is needed.

In order to include as many journals as possible in the scope of the investigation, the writer examined those libraries in the United States in which there was any special likelihood of finding a good collection of American periodicals. Collections in the following cities were investigated: Madison, Wis.; Chicago; Boston; Cambridge; New York; Philadelphia, and Washington. Naturally, not all the journals that published material bearing on the subject under discussion are contained in these libraries; the exceptions, however, are certainly of minor importance, if not altogether negligible. All journals devoted to general interests were examined. Those devoted to special fields in no wise related to the study of literature, such as trade, agricultural, and political journals, were, of course, excluded from the investigation. Theological and religious publications, in so far as they showed any considerable interest in profane literature, were included. Only the more important of the weekly journals were examined.

In addition to the journals published in the period before 1880, the examination was extended to the more important periodicals of later date. What will be said concerning the status of certain authors after 1880, is therefore based on actual investigation.

The dissertation has been divided into three chapters of general purport and one on individual authors and movements. In the former, the arrangement of the authors ordinarily follows the chronology of German literature. They are roughly divided into the following groups: the pre-classic authors,—those who wrote before Goethe and Schiller; Goethe; Schiller; the Romantics; poets of the War of Liberation; Heine and Young Germany; the later nineteenth century authors. These latter have been grouped as lyrists, dramatists, and novelists. As the more important authors are treated in a special chapter, space devoted to them in the general discussion has been cor-

respondingly decreased. However, none of the later novelists have been discussed under separate headings, as practically all mention of them comes in the latter part of our period, and it was therefore thought best to give a complete discussion of them in the general chapter dealing with those years.

To gain a clear conception of the purely American interest in German letters, it would be necessary to make a distinction between articles, reviews, and translations which are solely of American origin and those which owe their existence to British inspiration. This, however, is impossible until the English periodicals have been searched for material bearing on our subject.³ In all cases where articles are discussed that are reprinted from and credited to English publications, reference is made to the fact that they are not of American origin.

The following table shows the number of journals examined in each year of the period under discussion, the number of items found, and the ratio of the latter to the former. In the case of continued articles or stories, each instalment is counted as one item. When the number for a particular year is unusually large, the cause is indicated in a foot-note.

Year.	No. of Journals.	No. of Items.	Ratio.
1846.....	23	67	2.91
1847.....	30	81	2.70
1848.....	30	60	2.00
1849.....	28	60	2.14
1850.....	26	96	3.69
1851.....	24	88	3.67
1852.....	25	90	3.60
1853.....	25	76	3.04
1854.....	25	30	1.20
1855.....	27	41	1.52
1856.....	25	54	2.16
1857.....	27	40	1.48

³ Cf. Batt, Max. *Contributions to the History of English Opinion of German Literature*. I. *Gillies and the For. Quart. Rev.* in *Modern Language Notes*, 17: 83; II., *Gillies and Blackwood's Mag.*, *Ibid.*, 18: 65. Investigations of the attitude of British journals to German literature will soon be published by Oswald, Roloff, and Ruff of the University of Wisconsin.

1858.....	24	29	1.21
1859.....	22	27	1.23
1860.....	26	46	1.77
1861.....	20	19	.95
1862.....	19	19	1.00
1863.....	18	28	1.55
1864.....	18	23	1.28
1865.....	17	21	1.23
1866.....	20	13	.65
1867.....	25	36	1.44
1868.....	27	70	2.57 ⁴
1869.....	30	84	2.80
1870.....	32	78	2.44
1871.....	31	105	3.39 ⁵
1872.....	33	59	1.79
1873.....	32	76	2.38
1874.....	35	64	1.83
1875.....	31	62	2.00
1876.....	27	72	2.67
1877.....	26	85	3.27 ⁶
1878.....	26	56	2.15
1879.....	27	75	2.78
1880.....	24	74	3.08

It will be seen that there is a comparatively large number of items until the year 1854, when there is a sudden decrease. The small ratio holds until 1869, when an increase takes place. This renewed interest is sustained until the end of our period in 1880. These years may, therefore, be divided into three periods, corresponding to the dates just mentioned.

While there are a number of references to the Romanticists and to contemporaneous literature in the first period, the classic writers, especially Goethe, are by far the most prominent, largely as the result of the activity of the *Dial* group.⁷ This may, there-

⁴ List A, No. 1009, 31 instalments.

⁵ List A, No. 1223, 27 instalments.

⁶ List A, No. 1609, 21 instalments.

⁷ Cf. Goodnight, p. 51 ff.

fore, be designated as the "Classical Period." The adoption of this term does not mean that the great classicists were dropped from view in the succeeding years, as this was by no means the case. But never in the following periods did they predominate as they did in these years.

As the second period shows a notable decrease in the number of items,—which decrease is especially marked during and immediately after the Civil War—with no particular interest in any one school of literature, it will be known as the "Period of Decreased Interest."

Renewed interest is shown in 1869, and is fairly well sustained until 1880. More space is devoted to novelists, such as Auerbach, Spielhagen, Mühlbach, and Marlitt, while the lyric poets are decidedly secondary, and the dramatists are almost entirely neglected. These years will, therefore, be referred to as the "Period of the Novelists."

We have accordingly the following periods to consider:—

The Classical Period, 1846–1853;

The Period of Decreased Interest, 1854–1868;

The Period of the Novelists, 1869–1880.

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD (1846–1853)

While certain phases of German literature had for some time attracted the attention of American scholars, and the readers of our journals had had opportunity to become acquainted with selections from German authors through translation, there can be little doubt that the fifth decade showed a considerable increase in popular appreciation of the subject.

Several reviewers call attention to the increasing interest in the literature of the Germans on the part of Americans. The following will serve as examples. "German literature has slowly but steadily been making its way in our country, and several volumes of able translations, containing selections from the most distinguished of the German authors, have been for some time before the public."⁸ "The taste for German literature in this country is continually on the increase, not only from the considerable number of German settlements where the 'Mutter-

⁸ No. 122.

sprache' is retained, but from the gradual spread of acquaintance with the great German authors."⁹ That this increased knowledge of German literature is considered of value is shown by the following: "Our community [New York] has been especially fortunate in possessing a number of poets of scholastic culture, willing to labor for the sake of sharing with their less favored brethren the enjoyment of German poetry." It is to be hoped, concludes the writer, that translators will continue their labors.¹⁰ One advantage of a knowledge of German literature is stated in the following passage: "The Germans write more with a design than any other authors, and their productions display more refined art and embodied criticism; the study of them cannot fail to have a beneficial effect upon our literature."¹¹ The *Democratic Review* makes the bold assertion that "German literature is the finest modern literature in the world."¹² In another place, in discussing German mental activity in general, the same journal says: "The philosophy of Germany has been productive of the greatest result upon the political and social condition of the Christian world. In the matter of philosophical principles Germany stands pre-eminent among nations."¹³

A discordant note is sounded in a short group review of some new German novels. "The Germans have never succeeded in the historical novel. With vast resources in material, they have always a vagueness, a want of definite interest, of picturesque arrangement, and of sustained and disciplined power."¹⁴ Possibly the reason for this sweeping condemnation may be found in the character of the novels under discussion.¹⁵ The most reasonable statement found, is the following: "It is coming to be very much the fashion in some quarters to throw contempt on German literature, to sneer at the restlessness of the German mind, to deprecate the influence of the speculations of the German

⁹ No. 351.

¹⁰ No. 401.

¹¹ No. 56.

¹² No. 87.

¹³ No. 150.

¹⁴ No. 384.

¹⁵ See, *The Siege of Rheinfels*; *Collection Germania*, seven romances; Schefer, *The Bishop's Wife*.

intellect. When will people learn that in order to judge fairly of any author or set of authors, it is necessary that they should place themselves in their circumstances, take their position, their standpoint, as the Germans have it?—Now, if Germany have any honest, genuine word to speak to us, in heaven's name, let us listen to it, let us not close our ears and turn away."¹⁶

This plea for fair play is in sharp contrast to an article on "The Intellectual Aspects of the Age," which appeared at the same time in the *North American Review*,¹⁷ and in which A. P. Peabody,¹⁸ while admitting that German books display prodigious learning, and that the German mind "grapples with higher themes of thought" than does the Anglo-Saxon, denies that, "since Goethe and Richter have passed off the stage, there remains any rival of their fame, as an original and creative mind, in any department whatsoever." The German literature of the day is then divided into three classes. First, "works which present, with little method or system, compends of all that can be read or known on a given subject;" second, "numerous works which revive old, and often exploded theories;" third, those in which "a new theory, so *outré* and absurd, that neither the author himself, nor any of his readers, can be supposed to have even a momentary faith in it, is started."

A second article by the same critic, a review of Hedge, *Prose Writers of Germany*, Phila., 1848,¹⁹ shows a remarkable moderation in his views. In a calm, dispassionate tone, it gathers together practically all the opinions expressed in the shorter reviews of this period, and is so representative that an analysis of it will give a fair view of the position which the American journals assumed towards German literature at this time.

In the introductory sentences, Mr. Peabody attempts to show that, in Germany, as a result of the arbitrary government, many

¹⁶ No. 143.

¹⁷ 64: 281.

¹⁸ A. P. Peabody (1811-1893). Graduated at Harvard. Pastor of the South Parish (Unitarian) church in Portsmouth, N. H. Acting president of Harvard University. 1868-1869. Editor of *N. A. R.*, 1852-1861.

¹⁹ No. 188.

persons, who otherwise would be occupied with political problems, are drawn into the field of literature. These were, in numerous instances, men of broad vision and great originality, but they lacked the "Promethean gift" necessary to produce a work of art. It would manifestly be as improper to consider the works of these men as criterions of German literary art as it would be to "libel American literature on the score of the less ponderous abortions of our own press which pass into circulation chiefly through the hands of the grocer."

The political condition of Germany, besides forcing into literature many men who lacked the inspiration necessary to become good authors, also accounts for many of the characteristics of its literature. Political, social, and economic questions are forbidden, or must be "thrown into the most abstract forms, so that the whole science of practical life will never leave the matrix of metaphysics, in which all its fundamental ideas must have their birth, but in which they cannot have their development." The result is a "transcendental" philosophy, which, "with the utmost precision and exactness both of outline and of detail . . . has necessarily seemed inaccessibly misty or profound to the Anglo-Saxon mind, accustomed as it is to a *pedestrian* philosophy, which steps from fact to fact, and leaves its footmarks where they may be seen of all men."

Therefore, there is no German *novel*, only "intellectual autobiographies under the color of fictitious names and incidents,—there are philosophical tales, such as might be made from Plato's or Cicero's Dialogues by passing a slender thread of narrative through them,—there are stories which depict some possible, imaginable, or remotely future condition of things, to which the present offers no parallel."

The second element that influences German literature is the peculiar course of the Protestant reformation in that land. In other countries, the reformatory movement was limited by some special force, such as regal power in England and Calvinism in Switzerland. Luther and his followers proceeded "independently of prescription or authority." and the result was a

“consciousness of unlimited freedom, . . . with a tendency to the broadest divergence in all matters of faith.”

The third influence is that of the reader. The German public is a peculiar one; naturally contemplative and speculative, these tendencies have been strengthened by university training, and by numerous æsthetic circles among the titled and affluent. Again, “unlimited freedom and toleration of thought and utterance on all subjects appertaining to the inward life have degenerated into indifference for the truth, . . . so that a ready hospitality is offered to whatever is new, strange, or startling, however out of harmony with what the rest of the world may deem established verities.” Often the result is lack of “depth of conviction and seriousness of purpose,” “philosophical juggles, or pantheistic rhapsodies as a resource against *ennui*.”

The German language, with its long course of development, its ease in naturalizing foreign words, its numerous significant inflections, provides expression for all “moods and shades of sentiment, emotion, and inward experience,”—a most fitting medium for “philosophical speculation, for the delineation of the inward life, and for the embodiment of all the finer tracery of thought and feeling,—of those moods of mind which we are apt to call vague and evanescent, because they flit from the mind before they can find meet expression in our less copious and flexible tongue.” The result is an ability to express “close and minute analysis of thought and feeling, and the reduction of all the forms of inward experience to their constituent elements.”

As the German scholar is accustomed to working in an involved, highly organized language, it is a comparatively easy task for him to familiarize himself with foreign languages and make himself acquainted with the literature of other people. But what is an advantage to the German is to the same degree a disadvantage to the foreigner who wishes to enter into German literature. Much of its deeper meaning must remain hidden to the outsider, who, not realizing his own deficiency, is prone to attribute the fault to a supposed diffuseness and lack of clear-

ness in German thought and expression. "German genius shines from beneath a penumbra, rests under the stigma of obscurity, and is charged with giving unintelligible expression to ideas not sufficiently definite to its own apprehension to admit of clear statement. Are not all these phenomena to be traced to the two obvious laws, that the less copious language can always be transferred into the more affluent, and the latter can never be adequately translated into the former?" The practical application of this thought, directed against those who hastily condemn German literature, follows: "Until we can think in German, and are conscious of a native German's clear apprehension of the wealth and power of his own tongue, there is always reason to suspect that the alleged obscurity may have its seat in our own ignorance, and not in the printed page."

Mr. Peabody concludes with selections from the book reviewed, special attention being paid to Lessing and Goethe.

Unusually strong efforts were made in this period to introduce German literature itself, and not only criticism of it, to the American readers. An examination of the references reveals the fact that the interest in German letters is showing itself not only in the publication of critical articles, but increasingly in the appearance of translations. The debates as to the advisability of admitting this literature to America are drawing to a close, with a favorable decision in view, and the journals are ready to enter on a period of translating which is to continue—with considerable interruptions, it is true—down to the closing decade of the century. The necessity of adequate translations was keenly felt, as the study of German was still much neglected. We know that Emerson read Goethe after decidedly insufficient study of the language,²⁰ and he was not alone in the inadequacy of linguistic equipment for the task of reading German authors. Study under such circumstances must have been extremely unsatisfactory, if not impossible, and, as Peabody suggested in the article outlined above, much of the unfavorable criticism is undoubtedly due to the fact that the American student read more into the German works than

²⁰ Cf. Goodnight, p. 54.

he read out of them. It was also realized that the newly developing American literature would be greatly benefited by an intimate acquaintance with the products of older civilizations, and that Germany, especially, might become a valuable teacher of our young authors. This thought was expressed in the introduction to the *Select Library of the German Classics*, a series of translations which appeared in the *Democratic Review* in 1848 and 1849.²¹ The editor justifies the large amount of translation about to be presented as follows:

“It has long been the earnest wish of many who look with both hope and solicitude upon the progress of this country in literature and the liberal arts, to see the more important works of the recent distinguished writers of Germany rendered easily accessible to American readers. They have felt that the strong Teutonic intellect and its rich and varied productions have hitherto been too imperfectly known and appreciated among us; that indeed any adequate knowledge of them has been confined to a circle quite too narrow and exclusive; and, consequently, that one of the most original, thoughtful, and indefatigable of the European races has not exercised its *due* influence upon our minds.”

An intimate knowledge of foreign literatures, continues the editor, is essential to the spiritual and artistic growth of a young nation, which has still to develop a literature of its own. For America, the danger of narrowness is especially great, on account of the natural inclination of American minds to follow in the footsteps of England, with which country they are connected by common origin and language. If this inclination should be followed, America can never hope to be more than a mere imitator, instead of being a leader. A young nation, particularly one composed of such varied elements as the American people, must possess a certain eclecticism of character, so that it “might gather and select from the past and the old world the scattered rays of light and truth, and again reflect them as from one brilliant and burning focus.”²²

²¹ No. 155.

²² The same idea, in almost precisely the same words, had been expressed the previous year by a reviewer of Richter, *Walt and Vult.* No. 107.

The *Select Library* was planned on a liberal scale. The editor promises to begin with Goethe, *Hermann and Dorothea* and *Alexis and Dora*, "the two most perfect of his idyls;" these are to be followed by "the most universally admired of his tragedies," *Torquato Tasso* and *Iphigenia*. The artistic merit of the translations, the editor modestly leaves to the judgment of the reader, but he promises that they are to be "unusually faithful." As the *Select Library* is copyrighted, it may be inferred that the translations are original, although the names of the translators are not given.

The plan as originally outlined was modified to a considerable degree. The two works first mentioned appeared.²³ Of *Iphigenia* only three acts were published.²⁴ The reason for its discontinuance is not stated. *Torquato Tasso* did not appear at all. The translations show considerable artistic merit, and, although a line by line comparison was not made for the purposes of this investigation, a cursory examination indicates that the editor kept his promise of "unusual faithfulness."

In addition to the *Select Library*, the *Democratic Review* printed translations of Schiller, *The Diver*,²⁵ Lessing, *Emilia Galotti*²⁶ and *Minna von Barnhelm*,²⁷ and a large number of shorter selections. Many other journals, while not devoting nearly so much space to translations as did the *Democratic Review*, contributed their share to the work of giving the American reading public an opportunity of judging German literature for itself.

While the translations for the years 1847-1849 were taken principally from classical authors, the Romantic School predominates in 1850. Besides selections from men whose names are now known only to the student of literature, we find translations from such authors as Richter, Fouqué, Krummacker, Tieck, Zschokke, Wilhelm Müller, Lenau, and Freiligrath. The number of titles is larger than in the preceding years, and more journals are taking part in the work. However, the actual

²³ Nos. 155, 200.

²⁴ No. 204.

²⁵ No. 151.

²⁶ No. 152.

²⁷ No. 202.

space devoted to the work is less, as almost all the selections are brief. The next year (1851) shows a decided decrease; from now on, only occasional translations appear for a period of years, until the novelists and short story writers attract attention.

Accompanying the translations were many critical discussions of individual German authors. Journalistic discussions naturally incline to deal with the present rather than with the past; so, with the exception of a few prominent authors, only contemporary literature is discussed to any extent. However, there are a few references to eighteenth century authors. Klopstock's name appears a few times, but none of the references are of importance. Several of Lessing's fables were translated, besides the two dramas mentioned above. The *Eclectic Magazine* devotes a long essay to him in 1846.²⁸ Gessner, who had been so popular in the first half of the century, is almost forgotten. One translation by an unidentified contributor was the only reference found to the man who had served to introduce German literature to America.²⁹ A number of short translations from Herder appeared, and an edition of *Ausgewählte Werke* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1844), suggested to the *Foreign Quarterly Review* of England an extremely sympathetic biographical sketch of the author, which was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine*.³⁰

Goethe is made more prominent than any other author. He is highly esteemed as an artist, and the question as to his life and morals is falling into the background, although by no means forgotten. His genius is almost universally recognized and lauded, but his philosophy is still looked on askance. A number of protests against the possible evil influence that he might exert on the morals of his readers are registered, one journal even accusing him of "undermining all that is honorable or holy amongst men."³¹

An examination of the Schiller references yields disappointing results, as the critics pay comparatively little attention to him,

²⁸ See below, p. 62.

²⁹ No. 571. cf. Goodnight, p. 20.

³⁰ No. 93.

³¹ No. 424.

and not as many translations of his poems appear as might be expected. The American reprint of the second edition of Carlyle's *Life*, N. Y., 1846, called forth a few reviews. One long discussion, an appreciative characterization of his works, was reprinted from an English journal.³² Of course, he is sometimes mentioned in connection with Goethe. The reviewers generally content themselves with a few commendatory remarks, which are so indefinite as to be almost commonplace generalities.

Much attention is paid to the Romanticists, especially Jean Paul Richter and Zschokke. A translation from Richter's *Flegeljahre,—Walt and Vult, or the Twins*, Boston, 1845, attracted the attention of the Americans to this peculiar embodiment of sarcasm, humor, and pathos. All critics find difficulty in understanding him, on account of the numerous details and disconnected episodes that confuse his main theme, but his bright, pithy sayings appealed to many, and we find selections of *Aphorisms*, *Detached Thoughts*, and *Pearls*, the appearance of which continues well into the next period.

The strange, weird tales of Zschokke were for many years a source of great interest to Americans.³³ Several book translations of selections from his works were made, and were duly recorded in the journals. A number of translations of his short stories were also offered to the readers of the magazines.

Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater* is the subject of a six page discussion in the *Southern Quarterly Review*.³⁴ The author is praised as "one of the finest minds and rarest scholars that his country, so fruitful in genius, has produced." A short sketch of Tieck, suggested by his death, and reprinted from the London *Athenæum*,³⁵ describes him as a man of lovable personality and a diligent student, especially of Spanish and English. But he is represented as belonging to a literary school, which, never based

³² No. 28.

³³ Cf. Hoskins, *Parke Godwin and the Translations of Zschokke's Tales*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 13: 265. Rev. by Goodnight, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 23: p. 199.

³⁴ No. 60.

³⁵ No. 541.

on a natural foundation, had been abandoned long before he passed away. The critic recognizes the fact that Tieck broke away from Romanticism in his later novels, but ill-health prevented him from showing advanced development along new lines.

Young Germany is not well represented. A number of Heine's lyrics were translated. W. W. Hurlbut pronounces this author brilliant, witty, and possessed of much strength; but he is controlled by a shortsighted wilfulness, and thus is thrown out of the path of human progress.³⁶ The *Eclectic Magazine*, in an article reprinted from *Tait's Magazine*, considers him justified in turning his satire against German conditions; however, he ruined his career by inexcusable attacks on various individuals, and the full development of his great genius was prevented by unardonable faults in his character.³⁷

Of the other poets of the nineteenth century, little can be said. Theodor Körner, "the ideal of the youthful hero," was made the subject of a seven page biography,³⁸ and a number of his poems were translated. The names of Wilhelm Müller, Anastasius Grün, and Emanuel Geibel occur occasionally. A few of Freiligrath's poems were translated, and his exile from Prussia occasioned some comment. A number of Uhland's poems appeared in translation. Special attention should be called to the series by William Allen Butler,³⁹ to the translation of *Count Everhard*,⁴⁰ and to an article by "W. B.," which is composed almost entirely of translations of Uhland's ballads.⁴¹

The nineteenth century dramatists are almost completely neglected, as is but natural, in view of the fact that the German stage was itself almost entirely closed to what is now adjudged the best that the first half of the century produced. Those dramatists who are mentioned are almost entirely of minor importance, with the exception of Hebbel, whose *Herodes und*

³⁶ No. 240.

³⁷ No. 429.

³⁸ No. 425.

³⁹ No. 19. Butler was born in Albany, N. Y., 1825. A. B., New York University, 1843; traveled in Europe, 1846-1848. Lawyer, author.

⁴⁰ No. 498.

⁴¹ No. 144.

Mariamne is once reviewed.⁴² The critic finds that "the persons are too numerous and the action too complicated, but there is great fire and energy in the general treatment, and the gradual development of the interest of the story is managed with skill." It has the fault commonly found in German literature by the Americans, "too much philosophizing and moralizing."

The popularity which the German novel and short story are to attain within a few years is foreshadowed by numerous reviews of book translations and by the publication of many short stories in the journals themselves. Frequent mention is made of the Countess Hahn-Hahn, whose checkered career in social life and final entry in a convent, as well as her marvelously prolific pen, occasioned considerable comment, both favorable and unfavorable. Black's translation of Gerstaecker, *Wanderings and Fortunes of Some German Emigrants*, N. Y., 1848, called forth several commendatory reviews. Auerbach, who was known at this time principally through Mary Howitt's translation, *The Professor's Lady*, N. Y., 1850, is praised on account of his faithful descriptions of peasant life.⁴³ In a short review of *Deutsche Abende*, the statement is made that "Auerbach is in this country rapidly attaining the popularity which was held a few years since by Zschokke."⁴⁴ That this estimate was correct is shown by the great frequency with which his works were translated and reviewed in the succeeding years. Hauff is not discussed, and Willibald Alexis is only briefly mentioned. Translations of numerous short stories, marked "from the German," without mention of the author, are found in almost all the journals.

A general view of the period suggests the following statements. There was a widespread interest in German literature in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a strong desire to become better acquainted with its contents. This is indicated by numerous critical articles, by reviews of book translations, and by many translations that appeared in the pages of the journals. There is still some of the old prejudice; contributors

⁴² No. 377.

⁴³ No. 339.

⁴⁴ No. 397.

feel doubtful about the moral and religious aspect of this literature, and many find among the Germans an inclination to propound philosophical theses which they themselves can not fully understand, and which are, as a result, unintelligible to the readers. But some critics are beginning to realize the difficulty of passing fair judgment on works written in a foreign language which is imperfectly understood, and are not so prone to condemn an author as unintelligible, merely because they themselves do not fully understand his writings.

The greatest interest is manifested in the life and works of Goethe. Schiller and Gessner, two of the most popular authors of the preceding decade, are almost forgotten. The Romantic School attracts much attention, and the rising novelists are gaining in importance. This latter development will become more evident in the treatment of the following periods.

THE PERIOD OF DECREASED INTEREST (1854-1868)

As is shown by the figures tabulated above,¹ a marked decline in the interest manifested in German literature begins with the year 1854. In searching for reasons to account for this decrease, aside from the natural reaction from the intense interest of the preceding period, four elements must be taken into consideration, each of which exerted more or less influence. These are: first, the recognition of our purely American literature, particularly the short story; second, the political troubles, which culminated in the Civil War of the early sixties; third, the tide of immigration, which was very strong at the middle of the century, and aroused much opposition to all foreigners; fourth, the condition of German literature itself.

The first two elements,—the recognition of American literature and the political troubles,—would tend to displace all foreign literatures. The attention of critics was naturally turned to what was of more immediate national concern, while the journals, which had hitherto depended largely on translations for fiction and poetry, found a more abundant supply of native

¹ Pp. 9, 10.

American material. The political troubles absorbed the public attention to a continually greater extent, and, very naturally, threatened to displace temporarily all thoughts of the peaceful arts.

However, an examination of the journal indexes for this period shows a notable increase in French titles. This development would have been impossible if the first two of the elements enumerated above had been the sole cause of the diminished interest in German literature, for they would exert their influence against the literature of all foreign nations alike. We must therefore turn to the Germans themselves for an explanation, asking the following question:—

What was the effect of immigration on the spread of German literature? Those who came for purely economic reasons, and went directly to the farm and workshop, certainly exerted a very slight immediate cultural influence on their surroundings. More might be expected of the political refugees, many of whom had a university training. It was inevitable that the arrival of a multitude of enthusiastic young men, inspired by high idealism, and driven from their native land by their zeal for the cause of liberty, should make itself profoundly felt in a nation comparatively new. However, it is doubtful whether their arrival, eventually so highly beneficial to the land of their adoption, was in any large degree immediately helpful to the spread of German literature among the Americans. Certainly no such effect is shown in the journals. To be sure, the suggestion is sometimes made that the literature of the Fatherland should be studied as a means of understanding the character of the many German inhabitants of this country,² but this is very rare. The immigrants themselves were chiefly occupied with political ideas, and therefore, naturally, did little for the spread of German literature until they had adjusted themselves to their new surroundings.

Moreover, we must not overlook the impression that the newcomers made on the older inhabitants. Whatever influence on the spread of German culture was exerted by the immigrants

² *E. g.*, No. 956.

in the earlier years of the sixth decade, was probably not a favorable one. In general, foreigners were not entirely welcome, as is shown by the "America for Americans only" policy of the Know-nothings, which had many adherents at the middle of the century. Nor did the character of the educated German immigrant always inspire confidence in the minds of native Americans. It has been seen, in the preceding chapter, that the Americans looked with suspicion on the rationalistic philosophy of Germany, which they often regarded not only as irreligious, but as directly anti-religious. They now had an opportunity to observe at first hand the results of these ideas, as represented by many of the revolutionists. Differences in national traits of character were emphasized on closer acquaintance and aroused distrust, which was certainly increased by the slowness of the foreigners in adopting the English tongue. Many of the immigrants were restless young men, who had fled from the jurisdiction of a government which they considered oppressive; they had just escaped from the iron rule of Prussia, and thought that they were in a land where everyone was free to follow the bent of his own individuality without consulting the wishes and opinions of his neighbors. As a result, many of their actions, although possibly harmless in themselves, were likely to give offense. Some were political propagandists, who did not understand American conditions; many were free-thinkers, who denounced all religion; practically all of them spent the Sabbath in ways startling to the America that was, to a certain extent, still under the influence of Puritan traditions, and not disposed to look with favor on the "Continental Sunday."

It is not surprising that many thoughtful Americans observed the influx of such turbulent spirits, as they considered them, with some alarm. This feeling was, to a certain extent, reflected in the journals.³ Only some years later, during and

³ Cf. Angell, J. B., *German Emigrants to America*, in *N. A. R.*, 82: 248 (1856). The author finds that the Germans have many good qualities, but are apt to go beyond bounds when freed from the restraint of the home country. They are especially inclined to be irreligious and street-haranguers. The belief, however, is expressed that these faults will disappear in time.

after the Civil War, did the attitude become distinctly cordial.⁴

The three elements mentioned above had an appreciable influence on the attitude of the American journals towards German writers; but the most important reason for the decline must be sought in Germany itself. The remark has already been made that journals concern themselves principally with contemporaneous questions. What was there in German literature just after the middle of the century to interest a foreigner? The best work of Heine and Uhland was accomplished, and lyric poetry in general was on the wane. Great dramas were being produced by Hebbel and Ludwig, but they were either neglected or condemned by the leading critics, and are being recognized only in recent years, even in Germany. Wagner was attracting attention, but more as a composer than as a dramatist. The novel, as represented by the works of Alexis, Freytag, Scheffel, Keller, and Auerbach, was beginning to indicate the great development which it was to attain in the succeeding decades, but had not yet had time to make its influence strongly felt on this side of the Atlantic. Germany itself was busy with political questions—constitutional struggles, the Crimean and Austro-Prussian Wars, and the ever-present friction with the French—and so paid comparatively little attention to its literary productions. This apparent indifference was reflected in America, just as the intense interest in literature at the time of Goethe's supremacy also had its reflection in this country.

That the decrease was due to literary conditions in Germany, rather than to distrust of the Germans aroused by the character of the immigrants, or to absorption in political questions, is indicated not only by the increased interest in French literature referred to above, but by the cordial tone generally adopted

⁴ Cf. the article *Germany and the Germans*, in *Knicker*, 61: 310 (1863). This is a very sympathetic description of German life and culture, which begins: "If Germany, with her legions of disciplined soldiers, were not bravely fighting with us now the battles of freedom in the New World, there are other reasons why we could not forget the good old Fatherland of ideas, sciences, reforms, and victorious races."

when questions relating to German life and culture are discussed. A number of articles on German universities were found, one on *The German Language*,⁵ in which a history of the development of the language is given, accompanied by enthusiastic praise of its good qualities, and also reviews of histories of German literature.

With the exception of a few paragraphs by James Russell Lowell, introductory to his article on Lessing,⁶ in which the old charge of lack of humor and appreciation of fine points is revived, no discussions of German literature as a whole were found, as the reviews of the historical works referred to above were all limited to a few lines. All that can be done for this period, therefore, is to show the attitude of the journals towards individual authors.

The *National Quarterly Review* continues its series of careful studies of German poets, presenting in this period articles on Wieland,⁷ Goethe⁸, Klopstock,⁹ and Lessing,¹⁰ by E. I. Sears. Wieland is characterized as "one of the most fertile and profound of modern thinkers," whose works are pervaded by "a lofty, noble tone," "replete with food for thought," and "richly imbued with the spirit of ancient Greece." Klopstock is not the equal of Milton, but is, nevertheless, a great poet. His odes alone would establish his fame, while "the 'Messiah,' with all its faults, possesses true epic grandeur." Lessing is portrayed as the liberator of German literature from the foreign yoke by means of his critical works, and shares with Wieland the honor of having originated German prose. The article on Goethe will be discussed below.

A second important article on Lessing, by James Russell Lowell, based on Evans' translation of Stahr's *Lessing*, Boston,

⁵ No. 634.

⁶ No. 986.

⁷ No. 871.

⁸ No. 872.

⁹ No. 916.

¹⁰ No. 955. E. I. Sears, born in Ireland, 1819; died in N. Y., 1876; graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, 1839; came to the United States, 1848; professor of Modern Languages at Manhattan College; editor and proprietor of *Nat. Quart. Rev.*, 1860-1876.

1866, appeared in 1867.¹¹ Lowell sees in Lessing not only the critic, who dared to speak his mind fearlessly on all occasions, but also the highest type of manhood. Stahr's biography had been previously favorably reviewed in an article reprinted from an English journal.¹² The Frothingham translation of *Nathan the Wise*, N. Y., 1868, was not allowed to pass unnoticed.

This period witnessed the appearance of several interesting works on Goethe, foremost among which was the Boston reprint of Lewes, *Life of Goethe* (1856). The reviewers are practically unanimous in acknowledging the genius of the German master, but one still finds a number of articles expressing doubt as to his moral and religious influence. *Faust*, translated by Charles T. Brooks, Boston, 1856, was reviewed at length, and generally pronounced a masterpiece; not, however, without a warning against the fallacy of its philosophy.¹³ W. E. Aytoun and Theodore Martin, *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*, London, 1859, attracted some attention. Several descriptions of Weimar may be attributed to the interest felt in the personal life of its most illustrious citizen, for in them Schiller is decidedly secondary, while the other literary men of that city are hardly mentioned.

Schiller is still neglected by the contributors. Whenever he is mentioned, however, it is with hearty praise. The centennial of his birth was allowed to pass by with little notice. There were several brief references to it, while the only item of importance found was an address delivered by W. H. Furness on the anniversary day in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia.¹⁴

The *National Quarterly Review*¹⁵ published a long review of a new edition of Carlyle's *Life*, N. Y., 1846, and Hoffmeister's *Leben*, Stuttgart, 1859, in which Schiller's position in Germany, so far as popularity is concerned, is compared to that of Shakespeare in English-speaking countries.

The Romantic School is not so well represented as in the pre-

¹¹ No. 986. Reprinted in Lowell, *Prose Works*, 2: 162 ff. Boston, 1892.

¹² No. 892.

¹³ No. 898.

¹⁴ No. 814.

¹⁵ No. 896.

ceding period. A new edition of Tieck's works, together with Hettner, *Die romantische Schule*, was reviewed in an article reprinted from an English journal.¹⁶ *William Lovell, Abdallah*, and *Peter Lebrecht* are here characterized as the product of an undeveloped period. *Franz Sternbald* is "one of the most excellent novels in the German language." His tales show him to be "the very king of story;" his dramas, from which long selections are printed in translation, are said to be the embodiment of the Romantic ideas.

Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* is regarded by Earle Bertie as a perfect specimen of the true German idyl, which is "as pure as childhood itself." It is full of the breath of nature, the happiness and carelessness of youth, and the worship of love. Eichendorff shows "the sweet dreamy idealistic *gemüth*," which the English lost long ago.¹⁷ The Leland translation of this work (N. Y., 1866) was unfavorably reviewed in the *Atlantic Monthly*.¹⁸

Interest in Richter continues unabated. Several translations appear, likewise groups of aphorisms. The most important article is a review of *Titan* by W. R. Alger.¹⁹ Richter is here characterized as an author whose works are well worth following, through all the mazes of an intricate style, for the sake of their human sympathy and delicate wit. Zschokke is fast losing ground, only a few of his short stories being translated in the earlier part of the period.

Of the poets of the War of Liberation, Arndt and Körner are mentioned. The former, in an article, *Arndt and his Sacred Poetry*, reprinted from the *British Quarterly*,²⁰ is praised, not only on account of his patriotic poems, which "resounded like the very trump of battle, and tended so mightily to stimulate the Prussians in their heroic efforts to fling off the tyranny of Napoleon," but also on account of his gentler verses, which "are exquisite in conception and expression," and speak

¹⁶ No. 580.

¹⁷ No. 1030.

¹⁸ No. 945.

¹⁹ No. 900. For Alger, see p. 32, note 28.

²⁰ No. 879.

“to our own heart of hearts.” Körner is represented by several translations.

Heine was the only representative of Young Germany who succeeded in holding the attention of the American journals. With the exception of Goethe, more space is devoted to him than to any other German author, largely the result of two events of the sixth decade. The first was the appearance of the Leland translation of *Pictures of Travel*, Phila., 1855, which called forth a number of reviews. As in the case of Goethe, no one doubts his poetic powers, but there are serious questions as to his moral influence. The second event was his death in 1856, which suggested several articles. The well-known essay by Matthew Arnold, in which Heine is estimated as “the most important German successor of Goethe in Goethe’s most important line of activity—a soldier in the war of liberation of humanity,” is reprinted from an English review.²¹ The *National Quarterly Review*²² contains a long review of Heine’s works and of Julian Schmidt’s history of literature by E. I. Sears.²³ After a general outline of the status of German literature in America, in which he deplores the ignorance of the Americans on the subject, Sears discusses Heine at length from the point of view that, “of all modern authors, (Heine) is the most bitterly anti-Germanic.” The statement had been previously made that, if France had not existed, Heine would not have been Heine.²⁴

The nineteenth century poets are possibly better represented than they were in the preceding period. Uhland is discussed in a long article reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*.²⁵ The poet is presented as “a contrast to a too general notion of a poet and a German poet. He could stir a nation without parading his individual agonies, and could contemplate more important and more patriotic matters than ‘his own great wounded heart’.” He could set forth in sweet and noble song thoughts which shall

²¹ No. 894.

²² No. 956.

²³ For Sears, see p. 27, note 10.

²⁴ No. 686.

²⁵ No. 913.

not perish, and poetry which can never pall upon a healthy taste, without dabbling in petty blasphemies, or flavoring his lines with atheistical innuendos; he in outspoken, unaffected strains could move men's hearts without embittering them, shocked no prejudice by parading impiety, and gained wide sympathy without instilling cynicism."²⁶ The poems are characterized as follows:—

“Romantic without sentimentality, terse without ruggedness, simple without silliness, his poetry was the essential reflex of his own noble, upright, full-hearted, and modest nature. We greatly doubt that he ever considered himself pre-eminently a *great* poet, but may be sure that he felt his poetic aims were always good, and his poetic execution always above the average.” His life was always pure; too pure, in the opinion of some, to enable him to produce the best of poetry. However, “healthy, sober, frank, and honest, the utterances of Uhland's muse commend themselves to all who value, instead of sneering at, such attributes; and at least no false feeling is excited by their perusal.”

Of Friedrich Rückert, a number of whose poems appeared in translation, Bayard Taylor says:²⁷ “The last of the grand old generation of German poets is dead. Within ten years Eichen-dorff, Heine, Uhland, have passed away; and now the death of Friedrich Rückert, the sole survivor of the minor gods who inhabited the higher slopes of the Weimar Olympus, closes the list of their names.”

Rückert was more Oriental than German, continues the article. “His birthplace is supposed to be Schweinfurt, but it is to be sought, in reality, somewhere on the banks of the Euphrates. His true contemporaries were Saadi and Hariri of Bosrah.” In conclusion, Taylor describes several visits to the venerable old poet, to whom he was bound by ties of cordial friendship.

Bodenstedt's *Tausend und ein Tag im Orient* was outlined by

²⁶ Although no name is mentioned, there can be little doubt that Heine was in the mind of the critic when this comparison was made.

²⁷ No. 944.

W. R. Alger.²⁸ Schenkendorf, Geibel, and a large number of other less known poets are represented by translations.

An interesting article on *Hebel, The German Burns*, was contributed by Bayard Taylor.²⁹ His poems are praised as the natural expression of a simple people. In order to give the reader a correct conception of dialect poetry, Taylor translates a number of Hebel's verses into "the common, rude form of the English language, as it is spoken by the uneducated everywhere." This form—hardly the equivalent of a German dialect—is attained by using *-in'* for *-ing*, *ye* for *you*, *o'* for *of*, etc., and being careless about grammatical constructions. The effect is not very happy.

The novelists are receiving more attention. References to them are not yet very frequent, and names which one might expect, such as Scheffel, Keller, Raabe, and Spielhagen, do not often appear before the following period. However, those articles which we do find, show an intelligent appreciation of the work of the prominent German novelists, and a realization of the new spirit that is manifesting itself. The movement towards more realistic portrayal, especially of peasant life, is heartily commended.³⁰ Some of the authors who are to be freely discussed in the following period are coming into prominence. "The minute details of outer life" and the "evolution of inner life" are commended in a review of Auerbach's *Barfüssele*.³¹ *On the Heights*, translated by Bunnètt, Boston, 1868, is found to be above the comprehension of the ordinary novel-reader; it must be studied like *Hamlet* and *Faust*.³² Attention is called to the fact that Auerbach "introduced, in a time of literary poverty, a wide range of new subjects for epical treatment:—the life of German peasants, etc."³³

Ludwig's *Between Heaven and Earth* is outlined in a long re-

²⁸ No. 732. William Rounsville Alger was born in Freetown, Mass., 1822. Graduated from the Harvard theological school; A. M., Harvard, 1852. Unitarian theologian, author.

²⁹ No. 856.

³⁰ Cf. the review of Jeremias Gotthelf, No. 911.

³¹ No. 723.

³² No. 1029.

³³ No. 702.

view taken from an English journal.³⁴ *Die Heiteretei*, according to the *Atlantic Monthly*,³⁵ contains "too much spreading out," but the characters are true and lifelike, while the psychological development is excellent. "It is refreshing to see that German literary taste is becoming more *realistic*, pure, and natural, turning its back on the romantic school of the French." Freytag's *Debit and Credit* shows "noble aspiration after civil freedom and popular education, profound insight into character, and a tone of cordial and human sympathy."³⁶ A. P. Peabody³⁷ says of the same novel:³⁸ "The story embraces a remarkable number of strongly drawn *dramatis personae*, and a great variety of exciting incident. The conversations are lively and natural; the descriptions of scenery, skillful and vivid; the narrative, well sustained and of unflagging interest; the moral tone, uniformly true and high. We have seldom read a tale more worthy to be read, and if this furnishes a fair criterion of the author's powers, he must take rank among the first novelists of the century."

The dramatists are almost entirely neglected. Hebbel does not appear at all, while Ludwig is mentioned only as a novelist. A translation of Gutzkow, *Uriel Acosta*, N. Y., 1860, is once reviewed, as follows: "It is not often that a five-act tragedy is readable; and a still greater rarity is to find it both readable and thoughtful. We have, however, both these qualities in '*Uriel Acosta*,' which possesses the additional novelty of being essentially Jewish."³⁹

In general the years from 1853 to 1868 inclusive not only show a lagging interest in German literature, but also mark a transition in American journalistic criticism of the subject corresponding to the development of the literature itself. The preceding years were the period of the classic and romantic authors. Now the latter gradually disappear, to be eventually

³⁴ Nos. 773, 782.

³⁵ No. 702.

³⁶ No. 751.

³⁷ See p. 13, note 18.

³⁸ No. 767.

³⁹ No. 832.

replaced by the more modern novelists and short-story writers, who come into their own in the eighth decade. Goethe is the overshadowing figure in the whole discussion, the critics never growing weary of elaborating their views of his philosophy and of the moral qualities of his writings. Heine springs into prominence rather suddenly, partly on account of his political views, which became accessible through translations, and partly by his illness and lonely death in a Parisian tenement. Schiller is little discussed, despite the anniversary of 1859.

Throughout the latter half of the period, we find indications of interest in the rising school of novelists, an interest which is destined before long to become the most active agent in directing the attention of American readers to the literature of Germany.

THE PERIOD OF THE NOVEL (1869-1880)

A revival of interest in German literature is shown in 1869.¹ The sudden increase for this year is partly owing to the fact that the *New Eclectic* and *Appleton's Journal* printed a large number of short stories translated from the German; but, from now on, practically all the journals contained discussions of German authors and their works, which were becoming increasingly well-known, either through translations in book form or through the importing of the originals. During this entire period, the novelists tended to monopolize the interest of the journals at the expense of the lyrists and dramatists.

In considering the figures, it must be borne in mind that, at about this time, several journals inaugurated review departments, which contain only brief notices of new books. These swell the number of references without correspondingly increasing the actual amount of space devoted to German. The two highest figures, those for 1871 and 1877, are caused by the publication of long serial stories. However, even after making

¹ Although 1868, shows a high figure in the statistical table (p. 10), it is not included in this period, as the increase over 1867 is due entirely to the fact that one long story appeared as a serial.

allowances for these facts, there is a considerable increase in space over the preceding period. German literature had become of such importance that several journals maintained regular correspondents, who kept the readers informed from month to month concerning the book trade of Germany.³ The *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1871, assigned a separate heading in the index to German book reviews.

That this increase of interest was manifested not only in the journals, but in literary circles generally, is evident from a number of remarks by reviewers. J. G. Rosengarten,³ in a discussion of *German Novels and Novelists*,⁴ calls attention to the "growing interest in German language and literature." Another reviewer says, in a discussion of Gostwick and Harrison, *Outlines of German Literature*:⁵ "With the present expansion of the study of German, a clear, vivid, compact compendium of German literature is one of the urgent necessities of teacher and scholar." Another journal⁶ views the fact that "not only German protestantism, . . . but German philosophy and music, and German literature have become the vogue" with some alarm, as these have also been accompanied by "German fairs and Mühlbachs, as well as 'lager'." In the same volume⁷ is found the following: "In the Teutonic miscellaneous writings of the present day we find nothing that seems to promise a renaissance."

However, these latter sentiments are not typical. More representative is an editorial on the study of German in the schools, which appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*.⁸ After commenting on the efforts of Coleridge and Carlyle to make English-speaking people familiar with German thought, and on the "high ideal of Teutonic thoroughness and ability" set

³ *E. g., Intern. Rev.; Lit. World.*

³ Born in Philadelphia, 1835. Graduated from University of Pennsylvania, 1852. Studied in Heidelberg, 1857. Lawyer and author.

⁴ No. 1246.

⁵ No. 1376.

⁶ *Nat. Quart. Rev.*, 22: 273 (1871). In art. on *National Characteristics of French and Germans.*

⁷ No. 1232.

⁸ No. 1462.

by the Prince Consort, and also on the prominence of Germany in world politics since the foundation of the empire, it continues: "We need hardly say that the literature has been found amply to repay the labor of the student. Within the last century there has been an outburst of productiveness in Germany, almost unexampled in national history. Before 1750 there was hardly any poetry or criticism extant in the language. Now there are twenty names—Schiller, Goethe, Herder, Wieland, Lessing, Heine, Uhland—of whom few would be willing to declare ignorance." Regarding the language, the editor writes: "[It is] preeminently the language of poetry. Nowhere in any tongue is there such a store of pure, simple, tender verse as in German. Home life and the aspects of nature are the especial subjects of celebration, and, however cumbersome and confused may be his prose, the German always becomes simple and direct in his poetry."

The reasons for this increased interest are not hard to find. The immigrants, who had been looked on with suspicion for some time after their arrival,⁹ had proven that they were entitled to the respect and esteem of their fellow-citizens, and could, therefore, exert a powerful influence in favor of the culture with which they were most familiar. Their activity in the Civil War, in which they had almost unanimously supported the Federal cause, had been instrumental in winning the good will of all the North. Through their private German schools, they had spread much of their German culture among their neighbors. They provided excellent teachers for the American schools and colleges, and it was not long before they established their language on a firm footing as a regular part of the courses of study. In New York, German was made an optional study in 1854, and other cities gradually fell into line. At the opening of Cornell University, President Andrew D. White laid especial stress on the importance of the study of German.

While German was being firmly established in the curricula of American schools, an ever increasing number of students

⁹ See above, p. 24.

were crossing the Atlantic in order to work at the world-renowned German universities. Many of these returned to occupy chairs at the American colleges, and their influence on the spread of the knowledge of things German is incalculable.¹⁰ Furthermore, America, not insensible to the advantages it had gained by the friendship of Prussia during the Civil War, sympathized with that country and with all Germany in the struggle with France in 1870. This cordial feeling necessarily had its reflex in the attitude towards all that was German, including its literature.

As a result of this increased study, a number of histories of German literature appeared in America, and received commendatory reviews in the journals. Among them were the following: E. P. Evans, *Abriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, N. Y., 1869; Gostwick and Harrison, *Outlines of German Literature*, N. Y., 1873; H. Rosenstengel, *Handbuch der deutschen Literatur Europas und Amerikas*, Chicago, 1876; A. Lodermann, *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Boston, 1877; Helen S. Conant, *A Primer of German Literature*, N. Y., 1878; J. K. Hosmer, *Short History of German Literature*, 2d edition, St. Louis, 1879; Bayard Taylor, *Studies in German Literature*, N. Y., 1879. Not only the American publications were reviewed, but also the works of German scholars, such as Hettner, Julian Schmidt, König, and Hillebrand.

The question might be asked why none of these reviews presented exhaustive discussions of German literature as a whole, such as appeared in the first half of the century. It is not due to apathy, otherwise such a large number of reviews would not have appeared at all. On the contrary, the absence of such full discussions should rather be regarded as an indication of an increased familiarity of the educated Americans with the general character of the literature of Germany, a familiarity which made it as unnecessary to print such articles

¹⁰ See Viereck, L., *German Instruction in American Schools. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900-1901*. Washington, 1902. p. 560 ff. Also the German edition of this work, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in d. Ver. Staaten*. Braunschweig, Fr. Unweg. 1903.

as it would have been to print general discussions of English literature. An editor will admit nothing to the pages of his journal that does not promise to bring something new to his readers, while he will strive to have every question that is occupying the mind of the public discussed as fully and from as many points of view as possible. The fact that the reviewers confined themselves almost entirely to the book in question, instead of using it as an opportunity for branching out into a discussion of the whole subject does not indicate that such a discussion would be uninteresting, but rather shows that they felt safe in assuming a general knowledge of the subject on the part of their readers. Moreover, this increased familiarity of the American public made German literature too broad a subject to be treated in one, or even in a series of articles.

Owing to the resultant lack of articles on the subject as a whole, it is now no more possible to determine the attitude of the journals towards our subject than it would be to fix their attitude towards the literature of England or America. We are justified in assuming that German literature was known and appreciated, and now need attempt to discuss only the attitude towards individual authors and certain movements.

Klopstock is discussed in a long article reprinted from the *Cornhill Magazine*.¹¹ The essayist admits that his style is bombastic and the choice of material somewhat unfortunate; however, his works are of the utmost importance in the history of literature, as he "restored German art to life and liberty." Herder, in an essay by Karl Hillebrand,¹²—the most conspicuous contribution to the journals of the period, both as regards length and scholarship—is described as the source of that German intellectual supremacy which is generally admitted in the second half of the nineteenth century, and a long sketch of his life and development is given, emphasis being laid on the prominent part that he played in the eighteenth century struggle for individualism.

¹¹ No. 1816.

¹² Nos. 1302, 1362.

Several publications on Lessing appeared during this period and called forth the customary reviews. In connection with the Frothingham translation, Boston, 1874, *Laocoon* was greeted as "one of the masterpieces of German criticism,"¹³ and a standard by which art is even now to be judged.¹⁴ Opinion on Sime's *Lessing*, Boston, 1877, was divided. The *Atlantic Monthly*¹⁵ finds it not so good as the work of Lewes, while the *North American Review*¹⁶ commends it; Lessing is highly praised, while the English are condemned as "insular" because they refused to recognize his importance.

Interest in Goethe never flags. Numerous American and European publications were reviewed, such as *The Story of Goethe's Life*, Boston, 1873, a condensation of Lewes, *Goethe*; Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller*, N. Y., 1879; Calvert, *Goethe*, Boston and N. Y., 1872; and Bernays, *Der junge Goethe*, Leipzig, 1875. These reviews and articles will be discussed in another chapter; here it is sufficient to state that Goethe is not only recognized as a great poet and philosopher, as had been the case years before, but his character as a man is being freely praised. Even his relations to women, which had been the cause of so much offense in earlier years, are viewed in a different light, and "English prudery"¹⁷ must bear the blame for the unfavorable attitude formerly held. The general discussions are characterized by a calmness of tone and a fairness of judgment that are sought in vain in the articles of former years. There is an almost total lack of that bitterness of feeling which often expressed itself in invective; on the other hand, the exuberant, almost unreasoning praise has also disappeared. In their place, we find an objective criticism which shows that the American students of Goethe have at last reached the point where they can discuss his works without being carried off their feet by either condemnation or admiration.

¹³ No. 1397.

¹⁴ No. 1381.

¹⁵ No. 1637.

¹⁶ No. 1747.

¹⁷ No. 1268.

Faust, which had been brought before the American people by the splendid translation of Taylor, Boston, 1871, is the only work of Goethe to be fully discussed. The one unfavorable opinion of the drama which was found, appeared near the close of the period in a review of Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller*,¹⁸ N. Y., 1879, in which the critic fails to see the point of Faust's labors in the cause of humanity. *Werther* had already been classed as a "forgotten novel" in the preceding period;¹⁹ *Elective Affinities* is discussed incidentally in one article²⁰ and is mentioned occasionally in discussions of other works. *Hermann and Dorothea*, the "Evangeline of German Literature,"²¹ was brought into some prominence by the Frothingham translation, Boston, 1870, and by the school edition of James M. Hart, N. Y., 1875; however, it was not discussed at length. Various book translations of Goethe's lyrics were recorded, and also Lichtenberger, *Etudes sur les poésies lyriques de Goethe*. A number of translations of short poems appeared, and a collection of *Maxims and Reflections*²² was twice reprinted.

Schiller, who in the latter half of the century never attracted much attention among the journal contributors, does not now receive the proportion of space to which his importance entitles him. In a review of Gostwick and Harrison's *German Literature*,²³ he is portrayed as the representative of German national character. Several discussions of his life and works were reprinted from English journals.

There are comparatively few references to the Romantic School; these few, however, include three articles which, with Hillebrand's discussion of Herder,²⁴ represent the best essays on German literature in the American journals, during the years embraced in this dissertation:—namely the articles by Prof.

¹⁸ No. 1694.

¹⁹ No. 867.

²⁰ No. 1533.

²¹ *Harp. Mag.* protests against this title. No. 1136.

²² Nos. 1512, 1534.

²³ No. 1355.

²⁴ See above, p. 38.

H. H. Boyesen,²⁵ which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* under the titles *Social Aspects of the Romantic School*,²⁶ *Literary Aspects of the Romantic School*,²⁷ and *Novalis and the Blue Flower*.²⁸ A discussion of these articles will be found in another chapter.²⁹

Besides the article just mentioned, Novalis is represented by a large number of translations of *Spiritual Songs*, by George MacDonald.³⁰ Hoffman von Fallersleben is made the subject of a short article,³¹ and Richter is occasionally quoted. Zschokke is practically forgotten.

Arndt is discussed in two long articles, both copied from foreign reviews.³² They contain biographical sketches and selections from his works. The other poets of the War of Liberation do not appear.

Heine is even more fully discussed than in the preceding period. A number of new books were reviewed, such as Strodtmann, *Heine*, Berlin, 1867, and Karpeles, *Biographische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1872. Considerable attention was attracted by Stern, *Scintillations from the Prose Works of Heinrich Heine*, N. Y., 1873, and Fleischmann, *Prose Miscellanies from Heinrich Heine*, Phila., 1875. The latter called forth a denunciation of Heine's character in the *Literary World*,³³ while the opposite opinion was expressed by the *Bookbuyer* in a review of Stigand, *Life, Works, and Opinions of Heine*, London, 1875.³⁴ The general attitude towards Heine is similar to that towards Goethe in preceding years. Every critic is willing to admit that he ranks high as an artist, but the lessons to be learned

²⁵ H. H. Boyesen, author and educator. Born in Norway, 1848. Came to the United States, 1868. Professor of German at Cornell University, 1874-1880; Columbia University, 1880 till his death in 1895.

²⁶ No. 1456.

²⁷ No. 1507.

²⁸ No. 1458. These articles are reprinted in Boyesen, *Essays on German Literature*, 4th ed., N. Y., 1898. pp. 281 ff.

²⁹ See below, pp. 82 ff.

³⁰ No. 1371.

³¹ No. 1383.

³² Nos. 1128, 1224.

³³ No. 1469.

³⁴ No. 1509.

from his writings and the character of the man are open to serious doubt.

Börne was made the subject of a long article reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*,³⁵ which presents a biographical sketch and discusses him as a fearless political writer. No important references to Gutzkow were found.

German lyric poetry retains its hold on the American people. Its beauty and force are attributed to two facts, as brought out in the reviews of the numerous anthologies of German poetry which appeared in this period. In the first place, German song represents the life of the people, and secondly, the language is peculiarly adapted to lyric writing. "These (songs) of Germany have come out of the heart of a people whose speech, like that of the Witch in Thalaba, is song. . . . The German language flows into rhythmic and rhyming order without effort. Our English is stiff and rigid, with its inevitable couplets, in comparison."³⁶ The ninth edition of the Baskerville translations, Phila., 1872, prompted the following remarks: "The differences between the languages make it exceedingly difficult to give a good English rendering of German poetry. The German is much more copious than the English, and contains a larger number of words whose meaning can be expressed in English in no other manner than by the use of several words for each, sometimes nearly whole sentences. . . . These characteristics render a metrical version into English, of German poetry a by no means easy task."³⁷

An article on Uhland³⁸ presents an interesting attempt to classify the German poetry of the nineteenth century, as opposed to both the classical and the romantic. The author says in part: "Modern German and French writers have been classed as belonging to the classic and the romantic schools, and a fierce warfare has been waged between the adherents of the two. Uhland is generally placed in the list of the lat-

³⁵ No. 1673.

³⁶ No. 1040. Cf. also No. 1207.

³⁷ No. 1298.

³⁸ No. 1157.

ter, whose Teutonic founder was F. Schlegel, among whose illustrious disciples were Novalis and Tieck. We prefer a wider classification which shall include many in both the former categories, and what seems to us a more significant designation—the Gothic school. This literature, like Gothic architecture, grew out of the needs of the people, and was chiefly the product of the prevailing religion. It is distinguished by a profusion of ornament, and a great variety of forms which were to some extent molded by classical taste. It lacks the severe simplicity of Grecian art; it is more gorgeous and better adapted to the tastes and wants of modern times. Gothic literature was partly the product of chivalry, or at least owes its origin to the same prevailing spirit, and possesses the romantic characteristics of that movement. Its early manifestations are exhibited in the ballad poetry of Great Britain and Germany. Walter Scott was one of the most illustrious examples of this school, Uhland was another.”

Uhland is then represented as the best exponent of this class of poetry. His poems are characterized in part as follows: “The practical realist will complain of Uhland’s songs that they have no sufficient groundwork. He seems not to sing of human passion from any considerable knowledge of its movements; at least he is not impelled by the overmastering spirit within him to seek relief in poetic expression. In this, as in all else that he wrote, Uhland makes his feelings subservient to his art. To him stormy, overwhelming passion and its manifestations were unartistic. Had Poe been acquainted with the writings of Uhland he would have been delighted with him.” An exception, however, must be made of his patriotic songs, where love for his country breaks forth, and which are “worthy of a place with the fatherland lyrics of Arndt and Körner.”

America, like England and Germany, was impressed by the mystic wisdom of the Orient in the years following the middle of the century, and the writings of Bodenstedt and Rückert were not overlooked. Bodenstedt had been made the subject

of a long article in the preceding period.³⁹ In 1869 Rückert was discussed by E. P. Evans.⁴⁰

After warning against the fallacy of holding a great poet, the pioneer along a new line, responsible for the product of his imitators, Evans attempts to characterize Rückert's writings. The source of his inspiration is to be found in nature, which, in his earlier efforts, he peopled with elves, wood-nymphs, and water-sprites. "He has imparted new life and meaning to the forms of nature, by filling them with the precious substance of his mind; the luxuriance of his unparalleled diction has overgrown and beautified the whole face of things, like an ivy that mantles everything with its verdure, leaving no surface uncovered, no pinnacle unclimbed, no chink unpenetrated." He laid great stress on form. He was the most cosmopolitan of German poets, and was at home in all countries. As a neologist he surpasses Luther and is second only to Fischart. Attracted by the aphoristic wisdom of the East, he became the greatest didactic poet of modern times. With all his admiration for the poet, Evans is compelled to admit that his dramas are failures on account of their monotony and tediousness. The Brooks translation of the *of the Brahmin* was once favorably reviewed,⁴¹ and a considerable number of his poems were translated for the jour-

One might expect that a large number of the poems of Freiligrath, dealing, as so many of them do, with thrilling scenes in uncivilized lands, and rich in imagination, would be translated. This, however, was not the case, and Freiligrath was entirely neglected by American critics. The only or- discussion of his works being found in the *Quarterly Review*.⁴² The reviewer finds that, while Freiligrath did not attempt to keep into hidden meanings, "he kept his eye on the surface, and his poetic mind was busied in endeavoring to reach

³⁹ See above, p. 31.

⁴⁰ No. 1090. Edward Payson Evans, born in Remsen, New York, graduated from the University of Michigan, 1854. Professor of modern languages, 1854-1870. Since 1884 he has lived in Germany, where he was editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Munich.

⁴¹ No. 1529.

⁴² No. 1232.

sweets from each circumstance that was offered to his observation. The result was that he saw much that others might have found unattractive, but that to him was full of poetic suggestion, and he did his best to exhibit the attractive phases of what came before him. He succeeded to a very considerable extent, and produced a volume of which the Germans are justly proud."

The German drama receives no more attention than it did in the preceding period, with the exception of Wagner's music-drama. Anzengruber suffered the fate that befell Hebbel and Ludwig. Freytag, whose novels, as will be seen later, were highly praised, is hardly ever mentioned as the author of *Die Journalisten*. The recognized drama of the period was so ephemeral that it could not make its way across the ocean, while the realistic school did not develop until after 1880.

The German stage is once discussed,⁴³ and found ideal as compared with that of America, but the plays that were presented on it are not mentioned. Laube's *Das norddeutsche Theater* was reviewed,⁴⁴ but no opinion of German dramatic literature was expressed. Grillparzer was recognized in a short biographical note,⁴⁵ and the Frothingham translation of *Sappho*, Boston, 1876, was pronounced "intensely interesting from beginning to end." Ludwig's *Shakespearestudien* were briefly mentioned, and perhaps a sound manual of criticism. None of the articles, however, express more than a passing interest. The subject was freely discussed, and his name was mentioned again. Practically all of the attention was given to the subject, and thus is not a sub-

though by no means novel, both the *Roman* and the *German* and some found

the craze for translations from the German inexplicable;⁴⁸ but, despite these adverse criticisms, the American people were willing to read almost anything that had on its title page the magic words, "Translated from the German."

As is to be expected when a new literary species is being introduced, the opinions that found expression in the journals are many and conflicting, just as the novels discussed were good, bad, or indifferent. The minute psychological analysis and popular character of Ludwig and Auerbach had been praised before.⁴⁹ The *Eclectic Magazine* claims that "the Germans have undoubtedly furnished us the best novels of modern times, at least if we judge them as philosophical studies of human nature."⁵⁰ The *Southern Review*,⁵¹ on the contrary, says that, as all marriages in Germany are made on a money basis, the Germans do not know what love is, and therefore all their novels are insincere. Another equally startling fact is recorded by *Littell's Living Age*.⁵² A reviewer has discovered that the Germans have "no social language," and therefore nearly all German novels show "want of truth, unbearable affectation." If the day is to be saved at all, it will be by the work of dialect writers, such as Fritz Reuter. The *New Eclectic (Southern Magazine)*⁵³ sees in the psychological analysis only "wearisome flounderings in the profundities." The *Atlantic Monthly*, which is frequently inclined to take an unfavorable attitude towards German literature, maintains that "in original fiction Germany lingers behind the rest of Europe,"⁵⁴ comments on "the feeble condition of fiction in Germany,"⁵⁵ and pronounces Cramm, *Das Hausgesetz* "not absolutely bad when one considers what most German novels are."⁵⁶ While one reviewer finds that no German novelist seems to be entirely destitute of "inimitable passive

⁴⁸ No. 1182.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 32.

⁵⁰ No. 1328.

⁵¹ No. 1182.

⁵² No. 1412; see below, p. 50.

⁵³ No. 1111.

⁵⁴ No. 1198.

⁵⁵ No. 1388.

⁵⁶ No. 1265.

charm,"⁵⁷ another says that few Germans have a "really charming style."⁵⁸

One need not look far for the cause of this difference in opinion. Apart from the individual attitude of certain reviewers, based either on national prejudice, ignorance of the language, or honest conviction, it can be found in the novels themselves and in the quality of the translation. As soon as it was realized that it was financially profitable, numerous persons, regardless of their fitness for the task, set to work on such novels as struck their fancy. One can readily understand how a minute psychological study like Ludwig, *Zwischen Himmel und Erde*, or a delicate portrayal of sentiment like Storm, *Immensee* would suffer at the hands of an unskillful translator. Moreover, numerous translators, even if they did possess sufficient mastery of both English and German to produce a readable version, were sadly deficient in literary judgment; they wasted their efforts on novels which were at best mediocre in their original form, but became quite intolerable after suffering the loss which is invariably incident to a transference into another tongue.⁵⁹

The best general discussion of the modern German novel, although somewhat unfavorable, appeared in the *National Quarterly Review*.⁶⁰ It is based on the original works,—not translations—of Spielhagen, Auerbach, Marlitt, Summarow, Hillern, and Werner. The attitude of the essayist is in brief as follows.

Various considerations helped to produce a distinctive modern

⁵⁷ No. 1429.

⁵⁸ No. 1695.

⁵⁹ Cf. the review of Gerstlcker, *How a Bride was won*, N. Y., 1869. No. 1052. After commenting on various indications of an increased interest in German literature, the reviewer continues: "The opinions of German literature which these things manifest, are in the main correct. It is a vast and rich storehouse, and several of the best novels of the day have been drawn from it; but this general impression is peculiarly liable to abuse.

"The public are prone to suppose that anything German must be good, and particularly so if it is deemed worthy of being translated into another tongue. Now, abstractly considered, this is very good logic, at least, it is very natural. But unfortunately it is a question with publishers of mere loss or gain and they are generally dependent upon the opinions of parties whose interest it is not to be too critical of the works which they suggest for translation. In this manner works get into market with a dignified *imprimatur*, which if written by an American we may safely say would never find a publisher."

⁶⁰ No. 1616.

school of German romance. First, the spirit of 1848, with the resultant exodus to America; again, the large number of sceptical works, such as those of Strauss, and the historical iconoclasts, with their allies, the philologists and comparative mythologists, "who have very effectually pulled up by the roots many of the old beliefs, while they have left the common people with their feet in the air, and nowhere a foot of solid ground on which to rest them." The Germans always have on their eastern boundary the spectacle of the Poles rising against their oppressors, and so are led to think of their own political liberties. The philosophical spirit is cultivated at their universities, and finally the marked sectarian differences result in a spirit of tolerance.

The German novelist strives to attain an object different from that of the novelist of other nations, continues the article. "The American aims mainly to affect public opinion; the English, to exhibit individual traits of character; the French excel in giving bright scenic descriptions of what exists, irrespective of results; but the German is pre-eminently the analyst of emotions. It is a full century since Goethe first cursed his countrymen with those two pernicious tales, *Elective Affinities* and the *Sorrows of Young Werther*, but the lapse of three generations has not sufficed for Germany to recover from that malarious influence,—the same ideas, mixed with new ingredients, . . . still flow through the writings of its most able modern novelists—notably Spielhagen."

Sentiment and practical things are mingled, as is shown when Werther falls in love with Charlotte while she is preparing bread and butter for the children's lunch. There is no sense of humor. The Germans are good landscape painters, but are deficient in presenting portraits. Women conceive and express a passion with wonderful rapidity, and discuss subjects that would not be tolerated for a moment in America. In conclusion, the authors named above are discussed individually.

This article is chosen as representative, despite its conclusions, which are more unfavorable than the average opinion expressed in the journals, because it summarizes in the first part

practically all ideas expressed in the reviews of individual authors as to the cause of the great development of the novel. The latter part voices the opinion of many critics. The other side will appear in the discussion of individual novelists in the following pages.

By far the most prominent of these is Berthold Auerbach, who had been before the American public for several decades. As early as 1851, a reviewer had predicted for him the popularity once held by Zschokke.⁶¹ This forecast is abundantly verified in this period, as fully three times as much space was devoted to him as to any other German novelist. In fact, of all German authors, he is surpassed by Goethe alone in popularity among the Americans in this period.

The interest in Auerbach's personality is illustrated by a three page article, with cut, by Bayard Taylor.⁶² T. S. Perry, who finds German fictitious literature as a whole "feeble," makes an exception of the author of the *Dorfgeschichten* in a careful review.⁶³ The article is of sufficient importance to warrant a closer examination.

"He has certain qualities of his own," writes Perry, "which are nowhere common; and these are conspicuous enough to give him a high place with much more important rivals. Perhaps the first thing the foreigner notices in studying Auerbach is that he is so truly a German; his books are full of the air of Germany; although he wisely keeps to but one of the various regions of that country which is in many ways full of broad and striking differences, he succeeds in representing a sort of life which is German and German alone. The sincerity and picturesqueness with which he accomplishes this outlying part of his task deserve warm praise. His simplicity is a quality which he does not derive from any foreign source; his homely pathos smacks of the soil; and the same may be said of his less attractive qualities,—of his moralizing at all seasons . . . of the undramatic setting of his stories, of his longwindedness.

⁶¹ See above, p. 22.

⁶² No. 1106. Taylor was born 1825 in Chester Co., Pa. Traveler, editor, author and diplomat. Died in Berlin, 1878.

⁶³ No. 1388.

“ . . . In all of them [his village stories] he draws very simple sketches of peasant life, not from the point of view of the peasants themselves, but from that of one who knows them both by experience and careful study, who is able to sympathize with them, who has at heart a great fondness for them, and who has devoted much time to observing their manner of life. . . . He fastens our attention on the people he is writing about, and we forget everything else, for after all the human soul is more entertaining to us than the laws of composition, or the artistic arrangement of a story. . . . His success is more remarkable when we consider with what disadvantages he loads his stories; the method of telling them is most awkward; events are intermingled most confusingly, here a step forward and here an episode about something that happened twenty years ago, with the incidents in anything but the compact, closely connected order of which most writers are fond. . . . With all their technical defects, however, these stories are in more essential matters very admirable; their faults are those due to exaggerated simplicity, and so are surer of pardon than if they arose from too great pretension.”

In Perry's opinion, Auerbach is at his best in the village stories, and not in his long novels, which discuss vague theories of social philosophy. *Villa Eden, or the Country House on the Rhine* is a “good representative of pretentious commonplace;” *On the Heights* is good as long as it deals with peasant life, but becomes unnatural as soon as this field is left. “Both this novel and *The Country House on the Rhine* are full of discussions of disconnected subjects which are unlike the simple truisms of the village stories, but yet without the charm of novelty. There is often a prosy philosophizing which no one can contradict, but which imposes on some readers by its intelligibility.”

“In fine,” is the conclusion, “Auerbach may be said to be a man with a sharp eye for observing what is said and done, with a strong tendency to add to the effect of what he observes by some sentimentality of his own. He has a very considerable sense of humor, but, strangely enough, without a perception

of the ridiculous to save him from this excessive sentimentality, and another frequent fault, excessive philosophizing. . . . Like many other writers he is at his best in his simplest work; the closer the view he gets of what he is describing, the deeper his pathos, the more agreeable his humor; he sometimes confuses himself by mysteries of his own making. If not one of the greatest novelists, he is an amiable and agreeable one."

Auerbach had been referred to as "the Dickens of Germany." *Harper's Magazine*⁶⁴ protests as follows: "Between the vivid paintings from nature of the English master and the abstruse metaphysics, scarcely concealed beneath the thin guise of a romance, of the German, there is the least possible similitude."

Discussions of individual works will be taken up as nearly as possible in the order in which they appeared in the journals. *The Professor's Lady*, *Barfüssele*, and *On the Heights* have already been mentioned.⁶⁵ In 1869 the Frothingham translation of *Edelweiss*, Boston, 1869, was reviewed and praised. In the same year, a translation of *Barfüssele* was printed in full.⁶⁶

Villa on the Rhine, translated by Shackford, Boston, 1869, and by Taylor, N. Y., 1869, was frequently reviewed. One journal finds in it "comprehensive and consistent philosophy. . . . The leading characters whom Auerbach reverences in his heart of hearts, are Spinoza, Goethe, Franklin, and Theodore Parker. The American incidents and character, and *dénouement*, give abundant occasion for reference to the last two."⁶⁷ Another journal says: "It is an intensely German novel. It is in exact contrast to a French romance. The German is a philosopher, the Frenchman is a sensationalist. The German, under the guise of romance, writes philosophy, as witness Auerbach and Spielhagen."⁶⁸ The *Atlantic Monthly*⁶⁹ regards it as a "cumbersome ethical monstrosity."

Waldfried, translated by Simon Adler Stern, N. Y., 1874,

⁶⁴ No. 1138.

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 22, 32.

⁶⁶ No. 1108.

⁶⁷ No. 1159.

⁶⁸ No. 1059.

⁶⁹ No. 1698.

called forth conflicting views. The *Southern Magazine*⁷⁰ believes that Auerbach is beyond his depth in a "grand heroic work of the *Tendenz* species, in which the grandeur and glories of Prussia, and the splendid destinies of United Germany under the fatherly care of 'the great and glorious Emperor' and Bismark shall be fitly sung, in which he shall be political and psychological and military and patriotic and skeptical, shall be strong as Spielhagen and delicate as Erckmann-Chatrlian." The *Literary World*⁷¹ thinks it not so good as *On the Heights*, while the *Eclectic Magazine*⁷² commends it as a "simple portrayal of human character" and a "pleasant book to read." *Harper's Magazine*⁷³ finds it suggestive of thought and sentiment. "The novel awakens not thought alone, but feeling also. But the feeling is born in the reader's own soul. It is not made for him or imposed upon him by the expression of the writer's feeling."

On the Heights, translated by Stern, N. Y., 1875, was pronounced a "masterpiece of modern fiction,"⁷⁴ "at once a large and exacting plan, and a worthy execution of it."⁷⁵ *Drei einzige Töchter* shows "the singular mixture of intelligence and simplicity which characterize all his work."⁷⁶ *Lorley and Reinhard* is, "like all of Auerbach's, the vehicle for the expression of some philosophy in very suggestive poetic forms. These little gems that glitter in every character, and that might almost be taken from their connection and brought together in a column of wise sayings without losing their significance or their beauty, form a chief charm of the book."⁷⁷ *Nach dreissig Jahren*, according to one journal,⁷⁸ is not very good, while another⁷⁹ is glad that in it Auerbach has gone back to his old style. *Landolin von Reutershofen*, "an example of his best:

⁷⁰ No. 1440.

⁷¹ No. 1409.

⁷² No. 1398.

⁷³ No. 1402.

⁷⁴ No. 1461.

⁷⁵ No. 1486.

⁷⁶ No. 1457.

⁷⁷ No. 1591.

⁷⁸ No. 1579.

⁷⁹ No. 1621.

work,"⁸⁰ which was translated by Annie B. Irish, N. Y., 1878, is "microscopic in its descriptions, and its analyses of character. Its interest is psychological, though its psychology is dramatically, not metaphysically represented."⁸¹

The Forester, N. Y., 1880, and *Brigitta*, N. Y., 1880, are only briefly reviewed.⁸² The former shows "Auerbach at his best,"⁸³ while the latter is a quiet but touching story of German and Swiss rural and peasant life.⁸⁴

During the eighth decade, numerous translations of Auerbach's short stories appeared in the journals. But his popularity is not destined to be permanent. In a group review of several novels, including *Der Forstmeister*, the opinion is expressed that Auerbach is growing tiresome.⁸⁵ As he published his last work in 1880, and died two years later, interest in him declines very rapidly, and he is soon replaced by other writers.

In marked contrast with the popularity of these novels, and the affection shown for their author, is the attitude towards Spielhagen, the "Walter Scott of Germany."⁸⁶ He was never very popular in the American journals, principally because the American critic could feel no sympathy with his marked revolutionary tendencies, which were almost universally considered subversive of law and order. He is "realistic and minute in his details, his characters are sharply defined and full of energy and originality, and his incidents novel and striking," remarks one reviewer, but the "tendency" in them is too evident.⁸⁷

William Hand Browne,⁸⁸ in an article on *Spielhagen's Novels*,⁸⁹ attempts to show the underlying thought of the novel-

⁸⁰ No. 1698.

⁸¹ No. 1650.

⁸² *Lit. World*, in an editorial, applies the lesson taught by the *Forstmeister* to American conditions, and urges the establishment of an efficient forestry bureau. No. 1810.

⁸³ No. 1798.

⁸⁴ No. 1782.

⁸⁵ No. 1766.

⁸⁶ No. 1138.

⁸⁷ No. 1110.

⁸⁸ Born in Baltimore, 1828. Author, and for many years professor of English in Johns Hopkins University. Translator of Spielhagen's novels.

⁸⁹ No. 1181.

ist's work by a discussion of *Problematic Characters*, *Through Night to Light*, and *Hammer and Anvil*. Spielhagen, writes Browne, "shared the 'ideas' which agitated the student-class" in 1848; but, "while most of the young enthusiasts of that period discovered, when they came to take their places in social and civic life and undertake their share of the business of the world, that these sublime and alluring ideas were but beautiful impracticabilities, Spielhagen regarded them as vital, imperishable truths, great principles which would ultimately prevail and gloriously reorganize the society of the future. To promote this triumph, and rekindle the dying embers of enthusiasm among his former fellow-believers, he devoted his powers; and his first three stories are little more than dramatizations of these ideas, developed with philosophic gravity and tragic solemnity."

His "antipathy to hereditary rank and aristocracy" seems "almost to be intensified to personal hatred," his motto "seems not so much *à bas l'aristocratie*, as *à bas les aristocrates*." His "philosophical views seem to be a form of Pantheism, approaching even to Buddhism. The supremacy of duty is with him, as with Fichte, a leading moral motive. The abstract idea of 'Humanity' seems to be the object of his devotion, and his cultus is the liturgy of labor. His political views follow as a matter of course. He has unbounded faith in that vague abstraction called 'the people,' and in their collective capacity for self-government. . . . The abolition of all hereditary dignities, and the equalization of all social rights, together with the thorough organization of labor, if carried on in a spirit of disinterested philanthropy, will bring in the social millenium." The reviewer doubts the correctness of this philosophy, but adds: "Still we cannot refuse Spielhagen the respect due to honest enthusiasm and sincere zeal for the good, though they take the form of wild chimeras and impracticable dreams."

After this general discussion, *Problematic Characters* and *Through Night to Light* are discussed, and inconsistencies in them pointed out. "But though," continues Browne, "we find in these stories much that seems to us morbid, and some things

that deserve censure, we are compelled to admit that we have before us the work of an artist of no ordinary power. There is a dramatic skill in the situations, a firm analysis of character, and a free energy in the style which place him above the ordinary rank and file of sentimentalists and realists." These qualities are still better illustrated in *Hammer and Anvil*, in which one finds "bright sunshine, pure air, life-like characters, and a playful humor which hitherto we had never detected behind his tragic mask. There is a firm realism in the story which reminds us of Auerbach; but he has far greater breadth of handling than Auerbach, who is by nature a painter in miniature, and fails when he attempts a large canvas. . . . Here, too, we see the spirit of new Germany, the Germany of ports and navies, of railroads and factories; the Germany of energy and action which succeeds the old Germany of sentiment and philosophy."

Reviews of individual works are, on the whole, not favorable; their good qualities can not be denied, but the praise is always qualified. Either the political ideas are too radical, or the moral tone is too low. There are enough "stories of seduction, etc." in America without importing *Through Night to Light*.⁹⁰ *Problematic Characters*, translated by Prof. Schele de Vere, N. Y., 1869, shows "too much tendency,"⁹¹ and is not as philosophical as Auerbach's work.⁹² *Hammer and Anvil*, translated by William Hand Browne, N. Y., 1870, is favorably reviewed by *Harper's Magazine*.⁹³ The *Southern Review*⁹⁴ pronounces it an improvement on his former works, but still not very good. The *Atlantic Monthly* finds it "ponderous."⁹⁵ *The Hohensteins*, N. Y., 1870, according to *Harper's Magazine*,⁹⁶ is better than its predecessors. It is intensely democratic; but here and there is an outcropping of German infidelity, and of loose and destructive ideas of the marriage relation. Otherwise, remarks the re-

⁹⁰ No. 1063.

⁹¹ No. 1110.

⁹² No. 1060.

⁹³ No. 1138.

⁹⁴ No. 1183.

⁹⁵ No. 1125.

⁹⁶ No. 1137.

viewer, it is healthy and entertaining. *What the Swallows Sang*, N. Y., 1873, is below his best romances.⁹⁷ *Ultimo* is reviewed at some length by H. H. Boyesen,⁹⁸ who concludes that German literature does not keep up with political progress. In a review of *Sturmfluth*, the remark is made⁹⁹ that the admiration once felt in this country for Spielhagen has disappeared. In the following years he is rarely mentioned.

A writer in the *National Quarterly Review*¹⁰⁰ attempts to account for the lack of popular appreciation of Spielhagen as follows: "With the appearance of *Problematische Naturen* and its sequel, *Durch Nacht zum Licht*, Spielhagen took his place, if not at the head, certainly as the peer of any romance writer in Germany. He might with much truth be called the psychological historian of his time, though his gallery of portraits would show striking omissions and deficiencies; and, if his readers have possibly been not so numerous as Auerbach's, it is simply because he deals with subjects and with mixed characters not so readily understood outside of the circle in which such people have lived and moved—namely, the transcendental."

Paul Heyse is more attractive. "Heyse has less poetical genius and less familiarity with peasant and rural life; he has not explored society with so sharp an eye as Spielhagen; but he has a happy, airy fancy, and pleasant descriptive powers."¹⁰¹ Even the *Atlantic Monthly*¹⁰² is forced to admit, though somewhat grudgingly, in a review of *Das Ding an sich*, that "Heyse has very delicate feeling, and he writes in a really charming style, which is what few German authors do." Another journal,¹⁰³ in a review of *Tales from the German of Paul Heyse*, N. Y., 1879, pronounces the author "a writer of real and unmistakable genius, who finds in the short story or tale the natural and most

⁹⁷ No. 1319.

⁹⁸ No. 1476. For Boyesen, see p. 41, note 25.

⁹⁹ No. 1583.

¹⁰⁰ No. 1616.

¹⁰¹ No. 1656.

¹⁰² No. 1695.

¹⁰³ No. 1690.

effective medium of literary expression." *Harper's Magazine*¹⁰⁴ does not take so favorable an attitude. "Notwithstanding the gracefulness of their style, the four stories are the reverse of exhilarating," because they are totally lacking in humor and vivacity. The same journal had, in a review of *In Paradise*, N. Y., 1878,¹⁰⁵ warned against his moral tone. A large number of Heyse's stories appeared in translation, especially in *Appleton's Journal*.

Freytag's series, *Die Ahnen*, was somewhat disappointing to those who remembered *Soll und Haben*.¹⁰⁶ Mrs. Malcolm's translation, *Ingo and Ingraban*, N. Y., 1873, was reviewed a number of times; almost all critics unite in saying that, while the series may be good history, it is poor fiction. "As a representative of the real life of that time, and of the processes by which the heathen were 'converted', it possesses a good deal of interest; but as a mere story, it is not attractive."¹⁰⁷ A notable exception to this lack of appreciation is presented in two able discussions by Prof. Boyesen.¹⁰⁸ He shows how Freytag has ceased to be an exponent of "harmonious culture" as the "sole aim and object of life," after the pattern of his predecessors, who "unduly extolled the easy, pleasure-loving existence of a petty nobility, whose wealth and political privileges had enabled it to cultivate the amenities of life;" he is now the "apostle of labor," who chooses as his theme "the classes who, by dint of their labor, have become indispensable to the state,—merchants, teachers, journalists, tradesmen, etc."

In *Our Forefathers*, writes Boyesen in the second article, Freytag breaks with the worn-out romantic traditions of Walter Scott and Willibald Alexis. With him the "historical novel takes a new departure; it throws all its doors and windows wide open, and lets in the fresh air and the clear light of heaven; it brushes off its traditional cobwebs, and chases away the owls and bats and other goblins of night which have housed in its

¹⁰⁴ No. 1704.

¹⁰⁵ No. 1652.

¹⁰⁶ See above, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ No. 1347.

¹⁰⁸ Nos. 1420, 1477. For Boyesen, see p. 41, note 25.

deserted towers. It is the realism of the nineteenth century which has invaded the graveyard of the dead centuries, and the excavations, so far as they have proceeded, have enabled us to reconstruct, with delightful accuracy, many a picturesque bit of medieval life."

The first work of Ebers that attracted the attention of the American journals was *Homo Sum*, translated by Clara Bell in 1879. The Reverend Professor Franklin Carter¹⁰⁹ published a long outline of the plot, and welcomed it as the novel for which "the great German writers of the last century prepared the way; it surpasses all expectations, as the possibility of such a work had scarcely been foretold by their age."¹¹⁰

The Sisters, also translated by Miss Bell, N. Y., 1880, seems to the *Dial* of Chicago somewhat strained and unnatural at times.¹¹¹ Another journal remarks: "There is a heavy sweetness about them [Ebers' novels] like the overladen perfume of an oriental lily—which makes one prefer to have one at a time and the interval between any two considerable."¹¹² Of the Bell translation of *Uarda*, N. Y., 1880, the *National Quarterly Review*¹¹³ says: "In the consistent development of their characters, Prof. Ebers is masterly, combining the artistic sensibility of a poet with the subtle analysis of a philosopher. His powers of description are magnificent, whether they be used in describing priestly pageants, religious ceremonies and customs, battle scenes, or the gentle passions of love and friendship." In the following years, Ebers was kept continually before the eyes of the journal readers.

The prose works of Fritz Reuter, Germany's great master of dialect, aroused much interest among the American journal contributors. *Littell's Living Age* published a number of translations of his works, including *Seed-Time and Harvest* [*Ut mine*

¹⁰⁹ Franklin Carter. Born in Waterbury, Conn., in 1837. Professor of Latin and French at Williams College, 1865-1872. Professor of German at Yale, 1872-1881. President of Williams College, 1881.

¹¹⁰ No. 1744.

¹¹¹ No. 1773.

¹¹² No. 1807.

¹¹³ No. 1825.

Stromtid]¹¹⁴ and *His Little Serene Highness* [*Dörchlüchtung*].¹¹⁵ The same journal reprinted from an English periodical¹¹⁶ an article whose author sees in such "painters of real life" as Gotthelf, Keller, François, and Reuter the only means of rescuing German literature from the "want of truth" and "unbearable affectation" found in nearly all German novels and comedies, resulting from the lack of a "social language." T. S. Perry published a biographical sketch and literary appreciation of Reuter,¹¹⁷ in which he emphasizes that writer's truthful pictures of peasants and villagers, and ascribes to him genuine humor, a quality which, according to the critic, is almost universally absent in German books. His fun is never artificial, and his pathos never melodramatic. "He was a writer without pretense, almost, indeed, without ambition; but while this limited the amount of his work, it improved the quality, by confining him to the simple record of the things he knew. He was nowhere ungenue, his humor and pathos came from his heart, his simple vein of poetry he never learned from books. He never aimed very high; it was a very narrow corner of the world he undertook to write about, but he set that before us full of life and full of cheerfulness, and with its own beauty; a writer who has done this has succeeded."

Of the "blond romance" group of female novelists, as one reviewer characterizes them,¹¹⁸ little need be said. For some years, their works were extremely popular, and several journals, especially the *Lakeside Monthly* and *Appleton's Journal*, exhausted their vocabulary in trying to find words to praise them sufficiently. The names of Louise Mühlbach, E. Marlitt (Eugenie John), and Elise Polko recur again and again in the seventies, in connection with reviews of book translations, or in translations that appeared in the journals themselves. The reviewers generally state that these novels contain splendidly sketched characters, are surpassed by nothing that ever appeared in the

¹¹⁴ No. 1223.

¹¹⁵ No. 1354.

¹¹⁶ No. 1412.

¹¹⁷ No. 1451.

¹¹⁸ *At. Mo.* 25: 504 (1870).

field of fiction, and will be handed down to the ages as models of their class. A few citations will illustrate the attitude usually taken by their admirers.

“Since the days of the immortal Sir Walter Scott, and the advent of the Waverly novels, no writer of historical fiction has secured so high a niche in the temple of fame as has Louise Mühlbach. Her dozen historical novels are read by legions on both continents, and are destined to go down to future generations side by side with the Waverly novels.”¹¹⁹ Of Marlitt’s *Second Wife*, the following is found: “We rarely encounter a novel that we can read with so much pleasure and can commend so unreservedly as this volume. It deserves to rank with the best work of modern continental novelists—even with that of Tourgénéieff himself, whose books it somewhat resembles in tone and spirit. It is a striking psychological essay, a masterly study of character, and at the same time a vivid and fascinating picture of life.”¹²⁰

In reading these expressions of opinion, one is involuntarily reminded of some of the characters in the novels reviewed. Either they are extremely good, absolutely flawless, or there is not a redeeming feature about them. As example of the latter attitude, the following can be quoted from a review of Mühlbach’s works:¹²¹

“We shall not take the trouble to quote the titles of this infinite series of books. To judge from the volumes which we have examined, they are a heap of rubbish. They are of a high sensational order . . . As romances they are silly and melodramatic to the last degree. Regarded as histories, they are, to a great extent, dismal fabrications. . . . And yet these ridiculous stories, in which so many love-sighs, so many awful frowns, and a given number of ecstatic kisses, are mixed together in a sort of hash, seem to be widely read even among people who cannot be charged with a want of cultivation . . . It is a pity that the book market is not supplied with something better

¹¹⁹ No. 1069.

¹²⁰ No. 1410.

¹²¹ No. 985.

in the way of light reading than these ineffably stupid, fantastic, interminable books, in which the passion is torn to tatters, and historical personages exhibited in caricature.”

The characteristics of this period may be briefly summarized as follows:

The comparatively slight attention paid by the journals to German literature from 1853 to 1868 did not mean that interest in it was dying out,—that the careful study made of the subject in the fifth decade was the result of a fad. Various causes had contributed to a decrease in the number of articles; when, in the course of time, these were removed, the old interest reappeared, though along new lines. The Classicists and Romanticists no longer predominate. Goethe, it is true, is again prominent, but does not overshadow all other German writers as he once did, while by far the greatest attention is paid to the novelists, as was natural in view of the development of literature in Germany itself.

In this connection, a peculiar fact is to be noted. It was not the political novelist of Germany, the man who undertook the task of presenting problems of social and political life and suggestions for their solution, who held the attention of the Americans, although our country was at that time face to face with the tremendous problems of the Period of Reconstruction following the close of the Civil War. This may be due to the fact that America had just had the horrors of internal strife brought home to it by a terrible object lesson. Moreover, the American undoubtedly turned from these problems, which were confronting him in daily life, to seek relief in the more restful portrayals of simple peasant life, as found in the works of Auerbach and Reuter.

The ephemeral works of Mühlbach and Marlitt, of course, found numerous admirers among the American reading public, but there was no lack of more discriminating critics who did not fail to see their faults and warn their readers against them.

INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS AND MOVEMENTS

LESSING

With the exception of the *Democratic Review*, which printed translations of *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti*,¹ the journals paid little attention to Lessing in the earlier years of the period under discussion. With one exception,² no critical articles appeared before the publication of Stahr's biography in 1866.

The first exhaustive essay on the great German critic appeared in the *National Quarterly Review*³ under the title *Lessing and His Works*. The real revival of interest in the almost forgotten critic was, according to the *Atlantic Monthly*,⁴ due to a thorough discussion of the activity of Lessing in a review of Stahr's *Lessing* by James Russell Lowell.⁵ Lowell sees in Lessing not only a tremendous intellect and marvelous acuteness of perception, but also an unswerving adherence to the truth, steadfastness in misfortune, and sympathy towards his fellow-man. After an introductory discussion of the "average German mind," which, claims Lowell, possesses an "inability or disinclination to see a thing as it really is, unless it be a matter of science," and "finds its keenest pleasure in divining a profound significance in the most trifling things," and attributing to German literature a lack of grace and humor, the article continues: "Our respect for what Lessing was, and for what he did, is profound. In the history of literature it would be hard to find a man so stalwart, so kindly, so sincere, so capable of great ideas, whether in their influence on the intellect or the life, so unswervingly true to the truth, so free from the common weaknesses of his class. Since Luther, Germany has given birth

¹ See above, p. 18.

² No. 23. Lewes portrays Lessing as the one German who has avoided the radical defects of German literature, namely: "want of purpose," "*Schwärmerei*," "cant and affectation of all kinds," "pandering . . . to morbid sensibility or irrational enthusiasm."

³ No. 955.

⁴ No. 992.

⁵ No. 986. Lowell, born 1819 in Cambridge, Mass. Graduated from Harvard, 1838. Died 1891. Author.

to no such intellectual athlete,—to no son so German to the core. Greater poets she has had, but no greater writer, no nature more finely tempered. . . . The man Lessing, harassed and striving life-long, always poor and always helpful, with no patron but his own right-hand, the very shuttlecock of fortune, who saw ruin's plowshare drive through the hearth on which his first home-fire was hardly kindled, and who, through all, was faithful to himself, to his friend, to his duty, and to his ideal, is something more inspiring to us than the most glorious utterance of mere intellectual power. The figure of Goethe is grand, it is rightfully pre-eminent; it has something of the calm, and something of the coldness, of the immortals; but the Valhalla of German letters can show one form, in its simple manhood, statelier even than his." The greater portion of the essay is composed of a severe criticism of Stahr's biography, and a sketch of Lessing's life.

The works of no other German author were received with such universal and unqualified praise as were those of the great critic. *Nathan the Wise*, translated by Ellen M. Frothingham, N. Y., 1868, was reviewed a number of times. The best discussion, which appeared in the *North American Review*,⁶ presents a rapid sketch of the activity of Lessing as the liberator of his countrymen in two respects. "The Germans owe an immense debt of gratitude to Lessing for their literary enfranchisement, no less than for their emancipation from theological traditions." The controversy which resulted in the writing of *Nathan the Wise* is recalled, and a good analysis of the drama is given, together with a discussion of Miss Frothingham's version.

Laocoon, also in the Frothingham translation, appeared in 1874. It had, up to this time, been practically unknown in America,⁷ and was received by the journals with great enthusiasm. One of the many reviews will serve to illustrate the opinions expressed. "By the nearly unanimous consent of two generations of critics, Lessing's 'Laocoon' takes rank as the best single essay on art to be found in any literature. It lays down

⁶ No. 1020.

⁷ No. 1408.

principles which subsequent criticism has often applied—which, in fact, have influenced to a greater or less degree all recent authoritative writers on art; but it still retains all the freshness of the fountain-head, and will be found not less full of suggestive thoughts for students of our day than it was for those who read it fresh from Lessing's pen. In closeness of reasoning, keenness of penetration, lucidity of statement, and felicity of style, it is rivaled by no other of the great philosopher's writings, and even those who dispute its definitions concede it a place among the masterpieces of German literature.'⁸

No further articles appeared on Lessing during the years under discussion. Sime, *Life of Lessing*, Boston, 1877, was briefly reviewed, and opinions on the merit of the biography differed widely. But discussions confined themselves to the book in question, and did not extend to Lessing himself.

GOETHE.⁹

The discussions of Goethe have, in the first part of this period, practically the same characteristics as in the first half of the century.¹⁰ All reviewers are agreed that his art is unrivaled, and that his works are permeated with deep philosophy. His importance in the development of human thought is generally conceded. His understanding of human nature, his power of analysis, his ability to portray what he has seen with absolute objectivity and accuracy, and to exhibit the working of the human mind like a scientist describing an experiment, without passion and almost without personal interest, seem to raise him above the ranks of mortals.

So much is recognized by all. But there is one point on which the critics are not agreed, and that is the moral influence of his life and philosophy. Until 1865, practically the whole Goethe discussion centers on the violation of accepted standards of morality in his own career, and the effect that the reading of his

⁸ No. 1381.

⁹ Cf. White, Horatio S., *Goethe in America in Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 5: 219.

¹⁰ See Goodnight, p. 64 ff.

works may have on others. His opponents deliver bitter attacks on his relations to women, and the deteriorating influence of his writings on the religion and morals of his readers. His defenders try to pass over the question of his personal morality with a non-committal remark, or argue that he should be judged by his works, and not by his life. The argument is also made that, as a great genius differs from the ordinary man, he can not always be judged by the standards of every-day life. His works are an exact statement of truth; and truth, with whatever it may deal, say his defenders, is a greater teacher of morals than all preachers of sermons and givers of good counsel.

The prominence of the moral question is well illustrated in the review of Hedge, *Prose Writers in Germany*, referred to above.¹¹ Peabody devotes almost the whole Goethe section of his review to a discussion of this phase. He agrees entirely with the opinion of Hedge, who was a warm admirer of the great poet.

"We respect Goethe's ability," writes Peabody,¹² "yet he has exceedingly little power over our emotional nature. In reading him, we never find our critical judgment set aside by spontaneous admiration. And he seems to us rather a huge, complex, and many voiced or penned intellectual machine, than a man of like passions with ourselves. He appears to have committed moral suicide—to have torn out his heart in very boyhood," or he could not have deserted Friedericke as he did, and later calmly discuss the incident in his autobiography. "Yet,"—and this statement marks an important step forward in judging Goethe by his works rather than by his life alone—"no man had a keener intellectual perception of the Right than he, and we are inclined fully to accord with Mr. Hedge's estimate of his character and offices as a moral teacher." A long citation from Hedge follows, in which the critic outlines the difference between the moralist who depends for effect on an appeal to sentiment, and the man "who gives me light, who effects a permanent lodgment, in the mind, of some essential truth. The effective

¹¹ See p. 13.

¹² No. 188.

moralist is not the enthusiast, but the impartial and clear-seeing witness; not he who declaims most eloquently about the truth, but he who makes me see it, who gives me a clear intuition of a moral fact."

Considered from this point of view, continues Hedge, as quoted by the reviewer, Goethe is most truly a great moral teacher. He was not "overscrupulous in his way of life," but he was an indefatigable searcher after truth, "with whom to see was the first necessity of his nature; to state distinctly to himself and others what he saw, the next." Goethe's life was not blameless; "his wildest admirers have sought no place for him in the Christian Calendar;" still, not every charge against him should be believed. However,—and this is the crux of the whole argument,—"it is not . . . on the moral character of the man that any safe judgment as to the moral character of his writings can be based."

Four works of and about Goethe were seriously discussed in the journals: Parke Godwin's edition of *The Autobiography of Goethe; Truth and Poetry: From my Life*, N. Y., 1846; reprints of Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*, Boston, 1851 and 1865; Lewes, *Life of Goethe*, Boston, 1856; and finally *Faust*, principally the translation by Bayard Taylor, published in 1871. *Elective Affinities*, which had been much read in the first half of the century, is discussed in only one article;¹³ *The Sorrows of Werther*, which could once be found in every inn,¹⁴ is now classified with the "forgotten novels."¹⁵

The principal characteristics touched on in the reviews of the *Autobiography* are Goethe's objectivity, which is felt to be almost a lack of sympathy, and his wonderful powers of analysis. Some critics find in it a dangerous philosophy, lack of religious feeling, and a monumental selfishness.¹⁶

¹³ No. 1533.

¹⁴ No. 658.

¹⁵ No. 867.

¹⁶ The most bitter arraignment was found in *American Whig Review* (No. 69). Goethe is compared with Voltaire as follows: "Voltaire, the designer and father of revolutions, the most terrible foe of superstition, the exemplar of liberty, advancing against all but God and the laws. Goethe, the friend and ap-

The *Southern Quarterly Review*¹⁷ published a twenty-six page discussion of the *Autobiography*, emphasizing the great value of such personal histories, especially if the hero is a Goethe. In conclusion, the reviewer touches on an accusation which was very frequently made, namely:—lack of sympathy. "Goethe has been accused by many persons, and even by some German authors, of a certain coldness, a want of enthusiasm, an almost adamant hardness of character, and we must candidly confess that, while perusing his *Autobiography*, the same idea has crossed our mind more than once. In every thing he says and does, he seems a little too calm, too cold, too professional. There is no want of kindness, no want of fervor; but there seems a want of that softness, that tenderness, which enters more or less into the composition of most of us. But let us ask ourselves whether it may not be that it is his very greatness, his completeness, which *seems* to remove him from us. He touches everything so artistically, analyzes so calmly the various elements of human character, dissects, if we may use the expression, so skillfully, the varied attributes which enter into the composition of the human mind, that he seems not so much one of us, as a being acting in another sphere, and acting, as it were, professionally,—a being more to be admired than to be loved."

This, however, is only the first impression. "After much consideration, much earnest study of his character, and after gaining, as we trust, a clearer insight into the man, we have learned confidently to love as well as admire him; and the more

prover of despotism, the inventor of new superstitions, more subtle and more heathenish, the exemplar of a court-bred insolence advancing itself even in youth to 'do without God.'" The *Autobiography* is characterized as follows: "We find it, in the translation, overrun, nay, thoroughly inspired with a kind of egotism that would not, perhaps, have grown up elsewhere than in a petty German principality; an egotism founded on the weak wonder of a circle of weakling scholars and esthetics. For a total absence of that charming element of autobiographies, the loss of self in age, country, and pursuits, it seems to be without its equal. For the art and elegance displayed in it we confess not the least respect. The world does not need to be informed that the author was the most skillful writer and one of the most powerful men of his time; all that yields no comfort; the question is, what mischief is he able to execute with all this skill? how many waters can he make turbid? how many springs of consolation can he dry up? In fine, we as much admire the skill as detest the spirit of this *autobiography*."

¹⁷ No. 143.

we reflect upon these things, the more intimately we become acquainted with the great German poet, the more does a pleasant human sympathy establish itself between us, the more does our admiration warm and ripen into love."

Another review¹⁸ is peculiarly interesting in that it presents the Goethe problem as it appeared to the critics of the time. In part, it is as follows: "In approaching a contemplation of this man, the two things that strike one are, first, the exceeding diversity of the opinions men, every way competent to judge, hold concerning him; and secondly, his singular impassiveness to the external influences of his age, and at the same time his singular fidelity to the deeper spirit of that age.

"The critics, both learned and small, are sorely puzzled what to make of Goethe, either as an author or as a man. That he has talent of a very high kind none of them deny; that he was able to influence his fellow-men in a way that few ever have done, is a fact of history which they are as little disposed to deny. But what troubles them is, to assign him his true place in the literary Olympus,—to measure the height of his throne, and to lay down the metes and bounds of his rightful jurisdiction. Was he a god, a demi-god, or only a well-dressed and specious-looking devil? Was he a poet in the true sense? Were his conceptions of art of the loftiest kind? Had he any meaning in those clear yet enigmatical—those transparent but most profound fifty volumes of his? And above all, what manner of man was he—a good man or a bad?—a Christian, or only a gigantic Heathen? Was he sensualist or pantheist, or atheist, or nothing at all?—behind his age or in advance of it?—the most immovable of conservatives or the deepest of radicals?—one who lived exclusively for his own selfish glory, or who had some touches of humanity in him? Was that majestic calmness the calmness of the dead marble statue, or of the serene sunny sky which embraces all in its warm bosom? And finally, what effect is the Goethean literature yet to have on the destiny of mankind or the world?

¹⁸ Nos. 22, 87.

“These are the questions which the critics to whom we have referred answer so variously. They have fought battles over his remains, with the vigor and ferocity of religious fanatics.”

The reviewer then calls attention to the calmness with which the poet viewed all the tumultuous scenes that occurred during his life, and to the large number of great men whom he knew personally or by reputation, and expresses surprise that there are so few references to all these things in his writings.

“A character so singular in its position, and so variously judged of, is worthy of our study.” Emerson is said to have spoken of Goethe as the “Writer;” the more correct view is that he was “*The Artist of His Age.*” Under this aspect, “the contradictions of his career become plain; the riddles of his works are solved; the peculiar characteristics of his conduct as a man are justified. . . . He saw in the issues and tendencies of art, a universality and grandeur of development, which no man before him had ever seen so clearly, and no contemporary has so successfully embodied or expressed.”

The first instalment of this article concludes with an attempt to define art, and advises the Americans to learn what it is by a perusal of Goethe. The second instalment gives an outline of the autobiography.

The hundredth anniversary of Goethe's birth attracted no especial attention in the American journals. Only one essay, which was twice reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*,¹⁹ is directly attributable to it. It discusses Goethe's life, philosophy, and influence in an unfavorable, though judicial tone.

Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels, Boston, 1851, called forth a greater conflict of opinions than did the *Autobiography*. The *Southern Quarterly Review*²⁰ gives the book enthusiastic praise, and advises the reader to pore over it. The best illustration of the attitude of the favorable reviewers is found in *Graham's Illustrated Magazine*.²¹ In part, the review is as follows: “It is well known that this novel was the product

¹⁹ Nos. 262, 324.

²⁰ No. 426.

²¹ No. 366.

of ten years of creative labor; that in it, Goethe gives us the result of his experience, and his philosophy of life; and that, in its reach of observation and characterization, it is unequalled by any other novel in the world. There are coarse incidents and characters which remind us that the genius of Goethe included that of Fielding; and there are others which seem to prove as clearly that the loftiest idealism and the most mystical religious sentiment were equally within the grasp of his imagination. . . . A work so essentially and vitally comprehensive, representing so large an amount of thought and observation, and so provokingly true to the laws which regulate actual life, is at first distasteful to the sensitive reader from its seeming heartlessness; and we have known enthusiastic young men who could not read the first volume without indulging in a little cursing and swearing. In truth, the work is so laden and overladen with thought, so replete with a wisdom which stimulates the mind by arousing its opposition, and the whole intent of the author is so rarely perceived on the first perusal, that it has to be read many times to be thoroughly appreciated."

The opposite view is held by the *Southern Literary Messenger*,²² which devotes twelve pages to a warning against the iniquitous influence of *Wilhelm Meister*. After giving an outline of the philosophical system of Descartes, and exposing the errors of Spinoza, it analyzes the novel, coming to the following bitter conclusion: "To those who can see it in any other light than as a production of the highest talent prostituted to the narration of lascivious scenes and stories, of exquisite purity of style expended in licentious descriptions, of marvelous gifts of poetry and song, deliberately employed in undermining all that is honorable or holy amongst men—to such its frequent perusal may afford much pleasure, and its patient examination develop earnest features of beauty. To us it does not." A true appreciation of *Meister* was not evident until Carlyle's version was again reprinted in 1865.

There were several reviews of Goethe literature in the follow-

²² No. 424.

ing years, but nothing of importance until an American reprint of Lewes, *Life of Goethe*, Boston, 1856, revived the discussion of Goethe's morals. The sympathetic attitude of Lewes was a challenge which could not be ignored, and a number of reviewers repeat the warnings which had been called forth by the preceding books. Thomas B. Holcombe finds much exquisite poetry and deep insight into character in Goethe's writings,²³ "but the theology and morality, insinuated rather than taught, seemed to our old-fashioned notions, of a very dubious description. The *general impression* left by his writings . . . was unfavorable to religion and virtue, as these words were understood by Milton or Burke, Addison or Johnson." Two charges are preferred. The "poison of pantheistic infidelity is diffused through his works, dissolved in a menstruum of intoxicating poetry and attractive fiction, and his views of life are material and sensuous."

The most careful arraignment of Goethe was reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*.²⁴ The reviewer can not agree with Lewes' estimate of the man, and proposes "to show how and wherein so great a poet as Goethe fell short of the proportion of truest greatness." To do this, it is necessary to "try him first by his actions, and next by the tendency of his writings; though indeed these are but different expressions of the same character and sentiments, and leave on our mind the same sense of mingled admiration and disappointment."

For the first count of the indictment, three points are selected, which can be explained by only one hypothesis, namely, a "systematic preference of his own pleasure, convenience, and ease to the most sacred interests and strongest claims of others." These points are the love for Friederike, his betrayal of the friendship of Kestner, and his position during the War of Liberation. His action in all these affairs was due, not to a conscious violation of his own sense of right, but to "a defective sense of moral obligation."

The most important charge against the tendency of his writings is that they are negative. No practical solutions are sug-

²³ No. 697.

²⁴ No. 725.

gested. The truth is presented with all its serious problems, but more through a feeling of curiosity than through a real desire to help. A man of Goethe's position and ability should have done more. "With his wonderful insight, and his entire impartiality, he might have shown us what of the current morality was founded on prejudice and what on reason; while dispersing the mists and shadows of mere conventional restrictions or unreasoning asceticism, he might have brought out in full relief those immutable principles which will bear the test of the severest scrutiny, and upon which the happiness of the human race mainly depends."

The favorable reviews, which are about equal in number to those dissenting from the standpoint of Lewes, present nothing which had not been said before in connection with the *Autobiography* and *Wilhelm Meister*, and need, therefore, not be discussed in detail. They attempt to excuse Goethe's failings on the plea that he is an artist, and so is exempt from the control of ordinary conventions, or wish to exclude his private life from the Goethe question altogether.

A different spirit enters into the discussions at about the middle of the seventh decade. Goethe's works are more generally read and correspondingly better judged; the violent attacks cease, and the tone of bitterness is replaced by calm, unprejudiced judgment. E. Caro, *La philosophie de Goethe*, Paris, 1866, a work which, a few years before, would have precipitated a hot dispute, is subjected to a dispassionate criticism, in which exception is taken to the claim that Goethe was a Spinozist, and an attempt is made, in two articles reprinted from English sources, to prove that he is the highest type of an eclectic.²⁵

²⁵ Nos. 964, 965. This is very nearly the same point of view as had been taken in an article entitled *Glimpses of Goethe*, reprinted from an English journal some years before. (No. 880.) In this article, Spinoza's influence is emphasized, but not made supreme. Incidentally, the author refers to the charge of coldness. It is not due, he says, to lack of sympathy, but rather to his pantheistic philosophy, which regarded all manifestations of nature, whether great or small, as traits of divinity, and therefore equally worthy of thought. "Looking at life from this point of view,—one which enabled him to reconcile all inconsistencies which, apparent to all others, seemed to him but the lights and shadows of a general unity,—we find him studying nature and life solely for the purposes to which they might be turned as objects of art and science."

A new edition of Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, Boston, 1865, was reviewed by H. James, Jr.²⁶ This discussion, together with the articles just mentioned, well illustrates the change in the attitude towards Goethe. Instead of warnings against his evil influence, we now find earnest recommendations to all thoughtful persons to read his works.

"We hope this republication," writes James, "may help to discredit the very general impression that *Wilhelm Meister* belongs to the great class of unreadables. The sooner this impression is effaced, the better for those who labor under it. To read *Wilhelm Meister* for the first time is an enviable and almost a unique sensation. Few other books, to use an expression which Goethe's admirers will understand, so steadily and gradually *dawn* upon the intelligence. In few other works is so profound a meaning enveloped in so common a form.

"Of plot there is in this book properly none. We have Goethe's own assertion that the work contains no central point. It contains, however, a central figure, that of the hero. By him, through him, the tale is unfolded. It consists of the various adventures of a burgher youth, who sets out on his journey through life in quest, to speak generally, of happiness,—that happiness which, as he is never weary of repeating, can be found only in the subject's perfect harmony with himself. This is certainly a noble idea. Whatever pernicious conclusions may be begotten upon it, let us freely admit that, at the outset, in its virginity, it is beautiful."

The characters represent life itself, instead of being "photographic heroes and heroines." "The bearing of *Wilhelm Meister* is eminently practical. It might almost be called a treatise on moral economy,—a work intended to show how the experience of life may least be wasted, and best be turned to account. This fact gives it a seriousness which is almost sublime. To Goethe, nothing was vague, nothing empty, nothing trivial,—we had almost said, nothing false. . . . We would therefore explicitly recommend its perusal to all such persons, especially young persons, as feel that it behooves them to attach

²⁶ No. 943.

a meaning to life. Even if it settles nothing in their minds, it will be a most valuable experience to have read it. It is worth reading, if only to differ with it. If it is a priceless book to love, it is almost as important a one to hate; and whether there is more in it of truth or of error, it is at all events *great*."

The articles that appeared between this discussion and the reviews occasioned by the Taylor translation of *Faust* can be passed over without special mention, as they show nothing new in the attitude towards Goethe. Attention should, however, be called to an article by Prof. W. H. Wynn, which appeared in the *New Englander*.²⁷ In 1863, this journal could not print a commendation of *Faust* without appending a foot-note warning against the fallacy of the philosophy expressed in the drama.²⁸ Ten years later, the same journal publishes this eulogy of Goethe, "the poet of mankind, rather than of a particular people."

Of all the works of Goethe, none was of greater interest to Americans than *Faust*. Occasional mention was made of it in the sixth and seventh decades, including a long article by Henri de Coissy, *Goethe's Faust, a Tribute*,²⁹ the character of which is sufficiently indicated by the title. In 1863, the Brooks version was made the subject of a careful review by Mrs. C. B. Corson.³⁰ As this article shows an insight into the meaning of the drama which was found by the writer in no other contribution to the journals before this time, it deserves special mention. Mrs. Corson writes in part:

"In *Faust*, as handled by Goethe, we see *man*;—man striving upwards in spite of the manifold fetters that chain him to the earth. Vanity, ambition, innumerable errors through which he must wade to arrive at truth, necessarily mislead him in the labyrinths of this life. His whole existence is spent in searching for the right path, and he reaches old age, to die in sight of the cherished object of his life-long pursuit."

The characterization of Margaret is especially interesting.

²⁷ No. 1360.

²⁸ See below, p. 75.

²⁹ No. 447.

³⁰ No. 898.

One would feel little sympathy with Faust, thinks Mrs. Corson, if Margaret were absolutely blameless. "But we are told that she was vain; that in secret she had already murmured over the domestic duties that had made her hands rough and confined her to humble work. Martha was her friend before she met Faust. It is true that her sense of propriety revolted at the audacious insolence of the seducer's first addresses, and she answered him accordingly. But we are told also that she cast a furtive glance at the comely adventurer, and thought him handsome and of good station. Thus does her ill-guarded innocence afford many assailable points to her adversary, and we may almost say that she met him half way."

This is also the first article of this period which attempts an intelligent analysis of Part II. The marsh which Faust wishes to drain is a symbol of the "ignorance, prejudice, superstition, oppression, that lies in the way of progress, and generates those fitting will-o'-the-wisps which dazzle only to mislead," but which is gradually yielding to the efforts of succeeding generations.

The effect of this discriminating article is largely undone by the editor, who, as he does not entirely agree with his contributor, adds a foot-note, in which he admits the truth of much that has been written, but is compelled to warn against the deadly fallacy of Faust's philosophy. Still, it is an encouraging sign of a coming true appreciation of the value of Goethe's work that such a journal as the *New Englander*, which is religious in tone, ventures to print an article that would have been rank heresy a few years before.

Universal interest in *Faust* was aroused by Bayard Taylor's masterly translation. The outlines and discussions of the drama, although almost without exception favorable, show no advance over the article by Mrs. Corson, and need not be entered into here. Possibly the best criticism is that by Franklin Carter,³¹ who, in a group review of Faust literature, discusses thoroughly a number of critical works on the drama, showing throughout a sympathetic understanding of Goethe.³²

³¹ See p. 58, note 109.

³² No. 1746.

The Taylor translation of *Faust* was the last important piece of Goethe literature published in America during the period under discussion, with the exception of Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller*, N. Y., 1879. However, the poet is not forgotten, as the more important German publications were read with great interest. Besides reviews of these works, there were several articles which testify to an interest in the personality of Goethe, such as *Autumn Days in Weimar*, by Bayard Taylor;³³ *The Goethe House at Frankfurt*, by A. S. Gibbs;³⁴ and *Weimar under Schiller and Goethe*, by H. Schutz Wilson.³⁵

SCHILLER

important :-
 The attention paid to Schiller by the American journals of the period under discussion is surprisingly slight. With the exception of a few critical and biographical articles, which will be discussed below, his name rarely appears excepting in connection with translations of ballads and lyrics.³⁶ This apparent lack of interest may be largely explained by the absence of any pronounced difference in opinion concerning him and his works; whenever they were discussed, they were liberally praised. In the case of such authors as Goethe and Heine, almost each article was a challenge to some one who held radically different views, and hastened to reply. No such reason existed in the case of Schiller, and the number of articles is correspondingly small.

In 1846 an article was reprinted from an English review³⁷ under the title, *Life and Writings of Schiller*, which, after an introduction defending German literature against the charges brought against it by its opponents, presents Schiller as "a writer who disputes with Goethe himself the throne of German

³³ No. 1450. See p. 49, note 62.

³⁴ No. 1493.

³⁵ No. 1607.

³⁶ There were, of course, numerous references to him in connection with Goethe, and in general discussions of German literature. As these treat Schiller only as a subject of secondary interest, they can not be regarded as showing special interest in him.

³⁷ No. 28.

imagination, but whose imaginative writings, with little more than one early well-known exception, are conducive to pure amusement or elevated instruction." A biographical sketch is given, and the *Robbers*, *Don Carlos*, and *Wallenstein* are discussed as representative works. The dramas produced after 1800 are merely mentioned in the critical portion of the article, but are represented in the translations, which are taken from *Don Carlos*, *Mary Stuart*, *The Maid of Orleans*, and *William Tell*.

During the sixth decade mention of Schiller is confined to short reviews of translations, and to a few brief biographical sketches. The numerous celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of the poet's birth might be expected to have brought his name prominently before the American public. However, no such effect is noticeable in the journals. Besides a few brief descriptions of the festivities in Europe, only one long article which may be attributed to the anniversary was found, the address by W. H. Furness, referred to above.³⁸ The speaker dwells especially on Schiller's earnestness of purpose. "In sincerity, in earnestness of meaning, in truthfulness, Schiller is second to none." No attempt at a critical analysis is made.³⁹

note!

The first thorough discussion of Schiller found in the years following the centennial appeared in 1863.⁴⁰ The reviewer begins with a comparison with Goethe. He writes in part: "What Shakespeare is in this country and in England, Schiller is in Germany. He is undoubtedly more popular among his countrymen than Goethe. Indeed, he is more read, if not more prized, everywhere. There is more human sympathy in his writings than in those of his illustrious fellow-countryman and friend, although the latter's are more artistic and more beautiful as creations than the former. . . . In this country, as well as in Germany, his name is invested with a certain degree of sacredness."

³⁸ See p. 28.

³⁹ This silence in the journals is in marked contrast to the active interest which Ellwood C. Parry takes for granted in America in the years immediately following the centennial. Cf. *German American Annals*, new series, 3: 366.

⁴⁰ No. 896.

As illustrative of the criticism of individual dramas, the following can be quoted from the same article.

“*Court Intrigue and Love*, *Don Carlos*, and *The Robbers* were highly successful. *Court Intrigue and Love* is marked by the general characteristics of the *Robbers*, so far as design and tendency are concerned. Rank and artificial civilization are attacked as fiercely in one as in the other; while humility of station and simplicity of manners are made the nurses of every virtue. There are no baser villains in any rank of life than Bök, [sic] Kalb, and Wurm; indeed, only those who entertain a very low opinion of human nature, would be willing to admit that any such exist at all in civilized life. But assuming that they are caricatures, as many respectable critics maintain, there is still sufficient in the piece to indicate the genius of the author.”

As in other articles, the later dramas are almost ignored. “By far the most important part of the poet’s life may be said to close at his marriage and his appointment to the professorship of history at Jena. . . . Schiller himself always regarded *Wallenstein* as his greatest work. Artistically considered, it is certainly his *chef d’oeuvre*; but it is equally certain that the production which exhibits most genius is the *Robbers*.”

Schiller as an idealist is the theme of a portion of *Links in German Literature*, reprinted from *Tinsley’s Magazine*.⁴¹ “Schiller’s endeavor to avoid all that is common and mean led him to the opposite extreme of ideal abstraction. His views of human life were lofty, but not comprehensive. If he did not despise, he neglected to study many common lowly realities. His poetry is therefore the antithesis of such poetry as was written by our English realist, George Crabbe. . . . Schiller looked around him, but more frequently upwards and onwards, as we see him in one of his portraits. He despised, or he defied, low realities, and boldly uttered his belief that, after the failures of which history is the record, men shall enjoy, first moral, then political and social freedom.”

Another article in the same year, twice reprinted from an English review, discusses Schiller as one of “A Century of

⁴¹ No. 1355.

Great Poets."⁴² The opening paragraphs are devoted to a discussion of the friendship between Goethe and Schiller. In a comparison of the two, Schiller is made decidedly secondary. "Of the two, Goethe was so much the more remarkable that he can be considered and treated of alone, but of Schiller we can scarcely speak without bringing in the name of his greater, more splendid, and less lovable coadjutor. . . . The association, however, of these two great German minds does some injustice to the lesser greatness. We instinctively begin our estimate of Schiller by the profession that he has produced no Faust—a confession which is perfectly true, but highly unnecessary in respect to any other poet."

After this introduction, a comparison of the two poets is essential. "Schiller has nothing in him of the demigod; he stands firm upon mortal soil, where the motives, and wishes, and aspirations of common humanity have their full power. Even the visionary part of him is all human, Christian, natural; and when he touches upon the borders of the supernatural, as in those miraculous circumstances which surround his Maid of Orleans, it is still pure humanity and no fantastic archdemoniac inspiration which moves him. . . . Schiller stands upon no smiling grand elevation of superiority; he stands among the men and women whom he pictures, sympathizing with them, sometimes regarding them with that beautiful enthusiasm of the maker for the thing created, by which the poet abdicates his own sovereignty, and represents himself to himself as the mere portrait-painter of something God—not he—has made." In all his principal characters, he eliminates his own personality. "Schiller paints humankind without reference to himself, as Shakespeare did, throwing himself into characters different from his own, in which he can imagine a fashion of being perhaps greater than his own; whereas Goethe paints always a certain reflection of himself pre-eminent, and humankind only in relation to and contrast with that self somewhat discredited and insignificant in comparison."

The article concludes with a biographical sketch and a dis-

⁴² Nos. 1331, 1356.

cussion of his individual works. *The Robbers* is very fully analyzed; *Court Intrigue and Love* somewhat less, *Don Carlos* very briefly. *Wallenstein* is emphasized, while *The Maid of Orleans* is given a fair amount of space. *Tell* is passed over with the remark that, while it is "a fine, animated, and picturesque production, full of life and action, and with many passages of great poetical merit, . . . it fails in character, there being too much action and variety of scene for any consistent study of individual mind or heart."

It will be seen, from the articles just discussed, that the favorite method of approaching Schiller was by a comparison, or rather contrast with Goethe. The latter is almost superhuman in holding aloof from the great mass of humanity; the former is full of sympathy and fellow-feeling; Goethe is the sharp observer, who analyzes everything within his ken and paints an accurate portrait of what he has found, while Schiller is an idealist, who describes conditions, not as they are, but as he believes they will be in some happier period of the world's history; Goethe always introduces himself as the principal hero, while Schiller suppresses his personality, never thrusting himself on the reader. In regard to their relative importance, Goethe is considered the stronger personality, while Schiller is reduced almost to the rank of a dependent. It is also worthy of note that the dramas especially discussed are those of his youth and *Wallenstein*, while those written in the last five years of his life are always passed over with a few words.

THE ROMANTIC SCHOOL

The attitude of the American critics to the individual German romanticists was, as a rule, a cordial one; this feeling, however, did not extend to the Romantic School as a whole. It was apparently impossible for the average American to sympathize with a movement which was so far removed from all practical things, "never based on a natural foundation."⁴⁸ The usual attitude, somewhat exaggerated, is represented in a long dis-

⁴⁸ No. 541.

cussion of Haym, *Die Romantische Schule*.⁴⁴ In the opening paragraphs of the review, Heine's position towards the Romantic School is outlined as follows. The movement is divided into two sections. Novalis, the "embodiment of 'magic idealism'—a kind of hypermysticism based on Schelling's philosophy of the absolute, in which thoughts are confounded with things, and all natural phenomena reduced to symbols of ideas," represents one side; E. Th. A. Hoffmann and his associates,—"common conjurors, (who) resembled the Arabian sorcerers, who, with all their supernaturalism, never lose their hold on terrestrial realities, control the forces of the physical world, and at will animate stones or petrify life," represent the second. The two have a common basis. "The poetic effusions, in both cases, were the efflux and expression of a diseased imagination; just as the pearl is at once the symptom and the result of a morbid condition of the poor, suffering oyster." The study of Romanticism is a subject for the pathologist rather than for the literary critic.

The reviewer, on the whole, agrees with the attitude of Heine as outlined. The Romantic School, although it resulted in much that is commendable, "was the product of a morbid and perverse spirit, in conflict with every healthy, progressive tendency of the age, and fully deserving the severity of Heine's sentence. . . . The disease of Romanticism consisted in excessive subjectiveness, intense egoism, and hyperidealism. Even the sweetest poems and most charming romances of this school are tainted by the infection, and betray their origin as products of an imagination that has outgrown its normal and healthy relations to the other faculties, and thereby destroyed all intellectual equilibrium and symmetry. They are like a *pâté de foie gras*, which is indeed a rare and dainty dish, but always presupposes a sick goose."

After this condemnation of the school as a whole, the more prominent authors are discussed individually. Jean Paul was saved by his sense of humor; in Hölderlin, on the contrary, "all the demons of hypochondria took up their permanent

⁴⁴ No. 1305.

abode." Novalis was, according to Schleiermacher, "the divine youth, too early fallen asleep, whose spirit transformed everything that it touched into poetry, and who unfolded in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* the metaphysics of Romanticism." Fr. Schlegel's *Lucinde* is "only a too faithful and undisguised exemplification of those sophistries and casuistries of the imagination and the passions, which constituted the so-called *Künstlermoral*, in opposition to the 'decencies of our common prosaic life,' and which Heine [sic] had already glorified in his *Ardinghello*, and Tieck himself had preached through the mouth of Florestan in his *Franz Sternbald*."

In conclusion, the beneficent effects of Romanticism on the fine arts,—music, architecture, sculpture, and painting—are discussed.

By far the most scholarly treatment of the Romantic School is embraced in a series of three articles by Hjalmar H. Boyesen in the *Atlantic Monthly*.⁴⁵ The first, *Social Aspects of the Romantic School*,⁴⁶ opens with a discussion of the deterioration, under the leadership of Nicolai, of Lessing's endeavors in the cause of "enlightenment." It characterizes the Romantic School as a deliberate attempt to break away from all fetters that limited the free development of individuality; the restrictions placed by society on the relations of the sexes were especially attacked. The association of Friedrich Schlegel with Dorothea Veit, as represented in *Lucinde*, and the more innocent friendship between Schleiermacher and Henrietta Herz are cited as practical illustrations of their theories. The second essay, *Novalis and the Blue Flower*,⁴⁷ treats Novalis, and especially *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, as the most complete interpretation of Romanticism. The third, *Literary Aspects of the Romantic School*,⁴⁸ discusses individual authors. Tieck may be called "a kind of Goethe in miniature;" not because he followed in Goethe's footsteps, but because he fulfilled in a different sphere a similar mission. He stands "in the Romantic camp as the *facile prin-*

⁴⁵ See above, p. 41.

⁴⁶ No. 1456.

⁴⁷ No. 1458.

⁴⁸ No. 1507.

ceps, as Goethe did among the classicists." A thorough characterization of his writings follows. Wackenroder gave "the first impetus to that extravagant Madonna worship which, in connection with his medieval yearnings, at last assumed the phase of 'artistic Catholicism,' and ended with sending more than half of the prominent Romanticists to the bosom of the 'only saving church'." Schleiermacher "stands at the door of a temple of wondrous beauty; he opens the door; a solemn, sacred symphony fills the air with sweet, soul-stirring sound; a curtain is drawn aside, and behold, the old Sphinx. The riddle is still unsolved."

A late edition of *Der gestiefelte Kater*, Stuttgart, 1845, was reviewed⁴⁹ with translations of selected passages. The estimation of the author is of interest: "Ludwig Tieck, the rival of the celebrated Goethe, as a critic, and, as is admitted on all hands, one of the finest minds and rarest scholars that his country, so fruitful in genius, has produced." Several translations from Tieck appeared, and two critical articles.⁵⁰ Both of these represent the Romanticists as the outgrowth of the political troubles of the latter part of the eighteenth century, and as opponents of the Classical school, with Tieck as their leader. The latter's abandonment of the Romantic School is noted in the announcement of his death, referred to in a previous chapter.⁵¹

The only good critical article on Novalis is the one by Prof. Boyesen already discussed.⁵² A number of translations from his works, principally short poems, appeared from time to time in the journals. Among these are the following: *Christianity, or Europe*, by Rev. John Dalton;⁵³ three *Hymns to the Night*, prefaced by the extravagant remark: "One of the purest, freshest, most beautiful spirits that ever came out to enshrine itself in the flesh, in that great German land of beautiful spirits, was their Friedrich von Hardenberg, or, as he is more generally called, Novalis;"⁵⁴ and *Spiritual Songs*, translated by Geo. MacDonald.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ No. 60.

⁵⁰ Nos. 580, 924.

⁵¹ See above, p. 20.

⁵² See above, p. 82.

⁵³ No. 186.

⁵⁴ No. 187.

⁵⁵ No. 1371.

An outline of Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, with an eulogistic introduction, was contributed by Earle Bertie,⁵⁶ while the Leland translation, *Memoirs of a Good-for-Naught*, N. Y., 1866, suggests the remark that, while it might be a wonderful romance in German, "its poverty of wit and feeling and imagination is apparent when it is translated into pitiless English."⁵⁷ E. Th. A. Hoffmann, *Die Doppelgänger* was translated under the title *A Chapter of Errors*.⁵⁸ Fouqué is represented by a number of translations, but not reviewed.

The great popularity of Zschokke, which is shown by Hoskins⁵⁹ to have prevailed in the first half of the century, declined rapidly after 1850. In 1846 a short biographical sketch was twice reprinted from an English review,⁶⁰ and *Tales from the German of Heinrich Zschokke*, N. Y., 1846, were occasionally reviewed. One critic says: "As a writer of tales no author pleases us so well as Zschokke. There is about his stories a naturalness of incident and character that charms us beyond measure. We never read one of them that we do not feel conscious of being elevated by it to a higher and deeper love of humanity and truth."⁶¹ Other brief reviews and several translations appeared from time to time, but the once venerated storyteller is practically forgotten after 1860.

By far the most popular of all members of the Romantic School was Richter, "the greatest German humorist."⁶² A number of his short stories were translated, and many collections of quotations appeared under the title of *Aphorisms, Detached Thoughts, Pearls, and Brilliants*. His works were also liberally reviewed.

Walt and Vult, or the Twins, translated from the *Flegeljahre*, Boston, 1846, was frequently reviewed. One critic finds Richter "a most difficult and complicated theme" on account of his

⁵⁶ No. 1030.

⁵⁷ No. 945.

⁵⁸ No. 494.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 20, note 33.

⁶⁰ Nos. 26, 49.

⁶¹ No. 43.

⁶² Bayard Taylor. No. 842.

“complexity and perplexity,” due to the number of “collateral thoughts” with which his main theme is oppressed.⁶³ Another is impressed by his didactic purpose.⁶⁴

In 1847 a long group review of three Richter books was reprinted from an English journal.⁶⁵ It is a sympathetic discussion of his works, appreciative of the vagaries of his fancy and the wittiness of his sarcasm, but regrets that at times his humor is a trifle broad for an English audience.

For a number of years, nothing of importance appeared, until W. R. Alger,⁶⁶ in 1863, published a discussion of *Titan*, translated by Brooks, Boston, 1862.⁶⁷

Richter, observes Alger, is becoming more popular, although the “growing appreciation has been mostly limited to that small class of literary students who, combining insight with catholicity, are patient of difficulties and tolerant of faults when these are but the investiture and accompaniment of rare merits.” His faults, while they make it more difficult to understand him, are, after all, good ones: “extraordinary fertility,” “half-chaotic exuberance,” “transcendent richness and energy of . . . genius.” His works combine wealth of material, drawn from every conceivable source; wisdom in estimating the value of such material; health, in that the work strengthens and cheers the reader; skill in setting his thoughts in grace and beauty, in presenting his material in forms that delight the reader. In addition to these attributes common to all great writers, Richter has an unaffected, vigorous character, which bore him through many trials; love of nature; and a “boundless, yearning love of humanity,” which manifests itself in sympathy for all sufferers, and in “hyperborean, biting frosts and stings” for their oppressors.

His most distinctive trait, however, according to Alger, is his “unrivalled combination of serious earnestness and overpowering pathos with imaginative humor and comicality. He is at the

⁶³ No. 44.

⁶⁴ No. 56.

⁶⁵ No. 101.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 32, note 28.

⁶⁷ No. 900.

same time a grave student and a satirist; a jocose philosopher and a devout humorist. He is as much at home in the sublime as in the ridiculous. He laughs and weeps, loves and adores, with the same rhapsodic sincerity. He is a three-headed, three-hearted giant, equipped with an equal perception of the droll and the dread, an equal feeling of the tender and the absurd, vibrating swiftly through all that lies between the extremes."

Considered purely from the artistic point of view, he is limited. "He has a gigantic creative power combined with a diminutive shaping power." This, however, applies only to his works when considered as a whole, for it is "often exact and faultless in details;" as a result, there are numerous maxims and incidental reflections. His moral influence, both the conscious teaching and the unconscious suggestion, is good, with the exception of occasional "mawkish and sickly" passages, the result of too tender feelings.

HEINE

In view of the fact that the members of Young Germany were at their strongest when our period opens, an active interest in them might be expected. This, however, is not the case. No article devoted exclusively to this school was found, and incidental references to it are almost invariably in an unfavorable tone. This is best illustrated in the introduction to an essay on Heine by W. W. Hurlbut.⁶⁸ After referring to the confusion resulting from the revolution of 1830, and the decline of literature dating from the death of Goethe at about the same time, the writer divides contemporaneous German literature into three classes: "Young Germany with sarcasm and gay raillery," whose members were "very silly" and "whose productions were mostly of an effervescent nature;" the Rehabilitationists with "sound of drum and blowing of trumpets" under the leadership of Herwegh, and "that nobler band, who, neither trampling on the Past, nor scorning the Present, point to the Germany of the Future with genuine earnestness and hope," and who find their best representative in Freiligrath.

⁶⁸ No. 240.

With these three schools, continues Hurlbut, the name of Heine is connected. "Heine was the model, after whose perfection the *persifleurs* of Young Germany toiled in vain. He was a chief support of the fierce satirists of Halle; and in his last collection of poems . . . he came as near serious patriotic enthusiasm as was possible to his character."

The following discussion of Heine represents the attitude which was held, with comparatively slight variations, by the critics throughout the period. The *Reisebilder* and *Das Buch der Lieder* are almost invariably praised as the products of a true poetic spirit, while his political writings are criticized for their bitter personalities. His private life is, of course, unanimously condemned. Later articles make sympathetic reference to his long and painful illness. Hurlbut says in part:

"The most important of Heine's works, that on which . . . his fame must eventually rest, was also the first work of any consequence that he published. The *Reisebilder* is a collection of pictures drawn from the experiences and observations of the poet during his travels. Few works of the kind have even attained a success at once so immediate, so extensive, and so lasting as this charming book. To all readers of German in France, England, and America, its name, at least, is familiar; and it holds a high place among the literary favorites of all who are acquainted with it on more intimate terms. . . . Entire independence and freshness of thought and feeling, and the true poetic power of description and representation, these two seals of genius, are stamped upon the greater part of this book. A certain careless audacity, which, in his later and more evil days, Heine affected to a painful extent, is the very spirit of his movements in these travels. We know few books of the kind so thoroughly 'cleared of cant.'" An outline of the *Reisebilder*, with copious extracts in translation, follows.

De l'Allemagne is characterized as a "systematic attempt to discredit those authors and those opinions which he regarded as obstacles in the way of the great terrestrial kingdom that the propagandists wished to establish. Old German feeling, Romanticism, Anglicism, pietism, are riddled by his piercing arrows.

To call the book a literary history is absurd. The respectability of Gervinus and the religious enthusiasm of Horn refuse to occupy the same shelf with the *diablerie*, the raillery, the invective of this Parthian critic. But we have rarely met a more brilliant specimen of the 'Free Companion' in literature, than Heine as he appears in this case, sweeping remorselessly down upon Tieck, Schlegel, and their brethren, dealing fatal side thrusts at the solemn philosophers, riding full tilt against even the divine Goethe himself, and barely dropping his lance in time to avoid the crime of sacrilege."

Atta Troll, and *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* are condemned, because satire, dealing entirely with evil, and being purely negative, has no place in modern literature. But the *Buch der Lieder* and *Neue Gedichte* deserve the highest praise; only occasionally are they marred by Heine's characteristic skepticism. A number of poems are quoted to illustrate the exquisite lyric qualities.

With all his poetic gifts, there was a fatal element in Heine's character, the lack of the "resolute heart of a man who knew what he would have;" there was no "resolute, determined adherence to a great and noble purpose." For this reason he sacrificed forever his own peace and power and renown.

Some years later, after the revolution of 1848 had had its influence on political thought, and after his illness had attracted the attention of the literary world to the sick-room in Paris, the *Eclectic Magazine* reprinted from an English review⁶⁹ an article which claims that Heine, as a political writer, had lost caste since the revolution, but that his poems, as "chips from the old block of the German 'Volkslied'," were destined to hold permanent place in literature. *Littell's Living Age*, in a review of Leland's translation of *Pictures of Travel*, reprinted from the *Economist*,⁷⁰ characterizes him as a poet of wonderful powers, with all of a poet's qualities and faculties. These gifts, however, are spoiled by impiety and lack of reverence. The reviewer thinks it impossible to translate his works, and hopes

⁶⁹ No. 429.

⁷⁰ No. 623.

Leland will not waste any more time in his thankless task. *Knickerbocker*, on the contrary, finds this number of the translations all too small, and prints several extracts from it.⁷¹

In the following year, an essay by George Eliot, entitled *German Wit: Heinrich Heine*, was twice reprinted.⁷² The author represents Heine as the great German humorist, for whom the world has hitherto waited in vain, defends him against all charges of unfairness and unjustifiable bitterness in his political writings, even condoning the attack on Börne after the latter's death. The opposite point of view is represented in a savage attack on Heine's personality,⁷³ the writer of which can not find one redeeming feature in his life or character. In part, the estimate is as follows:

“Whatever claims his poetry may assert on the admiration of the world, his personal character can never be arrayed in attractive colors. This is attempted in the volume before us,⁷⁴ but without success. We would not judge the susceptible nature of the poet by any harsh, Puritanic standard. We would not seek to bind the impulses of his wild and wayward genius by artificial rules. But, compared with any true ideal of humanity, Heine was not a man to command approval or love. The scoffing element in his nature was predominant over the suggestions of truth. Devoted to the worship of beauty, his life-plan left no place for the pursuit of good. He seems never to have recognized the presence of an ethical principle in the constitution of man. The voice of duty was never heard amidst the seductive melodies of his song. He was possessed, like many other men of genius, with a gigantic selfishness, but this was not tempered, as is often the case, by the innate kindness which, in some sense, supplies the want of conscience. Unscrupulous in the exercise of his wit, he made fewer friends than admirers, and his enemies were more than either. No one can say that he did not deserve his fate. His personality was one from which the heart

⁷¹ No. 618.

⁷² Nos. 660, 676.

⁷³ No. 695.

⁷⁴ Melssner, Alfred, *Heinrich Heine*.

shrinks; his life, though impassioned, was grim and unloving; his death was lonely, without faith and without hope; his genius will consecrate his memory, but can never redeem his character."

The well-known article of Matthew Arnold, originally published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*.⁷⁵ Here Heine is considered "the most important German successor and continuator of Goethe in Goethe's most important line of activity—a soldier in the war of liberation of humanity." The main current of Goethe's exertions flows in Heine's work; both fought the battle against Philistinism. It was a noble fight, but, nevertheless, Arnold is forced to conclude: "And what have we got from Heine? A half-result, for want of moral balance, of nobleness of soul and character."

E. I. Sears⁷⁶ looks on the appearance of the *Reisebilder* as the beginning of a new era in German literature. No other descriptions of travel can compare with these in their lifelike character. But the praise bestowed on them is not without qualification. Brilliant and widely read they may be; but "it is the boldness and severity with which he attacks friend and foe alike that have contributed most to render the book famous, although there are many of those attacks which show that, if he was not utterly insensible to kindness, he had certainly but little gratitude; for he does not spare even his own teachers, those who not only gave him all the aid in their power to attain the success for which he was ambitious, but also exercised the influence of their friends in his behalf."

There is indeed much in Heine that must be condemned, continues the reviewer, but time is softening the verdict of the literary world. His disappointments in his earlier years, the position of the Jew in political and social life, and, above all, his ill-health, serve to explain, if not to justify, his bitterness and invective. And, despite all his faults, his genius can not be denied. "As a man, his faults are indeed many and grave; but as a poet he is undoubtedly the best that Germany has produced

⁷⁵ No. 894.

⁷⁶ No. 956. For Sears, see above, p. 27, note 10.

“since Goethe’s time; and what other country has produced his equal during the same period?”

Several other good criticisms of Heine appeared in the journals during the rest of the period under discussion, but the attitude remains practically the same as in the article just discussed. His tragic death removed much of the harshness from the criticism of his opponents, and, as time went on, the memory of the irregularities in his life faded away. *Reisebilder* and *Das Buch der Lieder* are recognized as poetic products of the highest order. His mistakes in life are attributed to various causes, and are being judged with increasing charity.⁷⁷ The summary of his works by A. Parker is fairly representative. He says in the conclusion of his article on Heine:⁷⁸

“A negative judgment is not enough for a final estimate of Heinrich Heine. Much of his service to literature and to mankind was of a very positive character. As a man of letters, he created a prose style unequalled in clearness and brilliancy by anything previously known in German literature—Goethe’s prose is ponderous in comparison—and its influence will be felt long after certain mannerisms have passed into oblivion. His wit is destined to immortality by reason of the serious purpose that underlies it. It has a spontaneity which no wit exercised merely for its own ends can ever have. Those who call Heine frivolous and a mocker, simply because he can jest at serious things, can only know him very superficially or else must be ignorant of the real part which humor has to play in the world. Perhaps there never was a writer who shook himself so free of all conventionalities of style. His very mannerisms—and his writings abound in them—have a spontaneity about them, and only become affectations in the innumerable imitations which cluster around all his literary productions. This is his service to literature; his service to posterity was as great. He did some goodly service in the ‘War of liberation of humanity,’ if in no other way, by setting

⁷⁷ Cf. No. 1278, where Kate Hillard attributes his bitterness to a nervous disease that afflicted him from his earliest childhood, and eventually resulted in the illness that caused his death.

⁷⁸ No. 1789.

the example of a man who could speak unflinchingly for principles at a time when such utterance was not easy.''

CONCLUSION

The results of this investigation of the attitude of the American journals towards German literature from 1846 to 1880 may be briefly summarized as follows:

The conflict of opinions as to the possibility or advisability of admitting German literature into America on a par with other literatures came to a close at about the middle of the century. The inclination of the Germans to indulge in philosophic speculations that were considered either as incomprehensible or as leading to moral and religious heterodoxy was found to be less great than at first apprehended. The impression of apparently unintelligible, wearisome details of characterization and of dull, prosy style, which many American students had gained, was attributed to a lack of knowledge of the language on the part of the reader, or to unsatisfactory translations, rather than to faults inherent in the original, and disappeared on a more intelligent study. The conviction gained ground that the authors of Germany, possibly more than those of any other foreign country, could teach the Americans much that was not only intrinsically valuable, but that would be of great benefit in helping build up the newly developing native literature. As it would be folly for a young nation to close its ears to the teachings of an older people, it was the duty of American scholars to assist in gaining access to the great storehouse of knowledge and inspiration which was at their doors.

Goethe was better understood as the years passed; much of what had seemed to be immoral and anti-religious in his writings was found to be a doctrine of higher liberty for all mankind. Parke Godwin's edition of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Carlyle's version of *Wilhelm Meister*, and the various versions of *Faust* were studied, and led to an ever increasing interest in the life and works of their author. Schiller, on the contrary, whose best known drama

has for its theme the struggle for political liberty, and the centenary of whose birth aroused great enthusiasm in his native country, was strangely neglected by the American journals.

Interest in individual members of the Romantic School was marked during the earlier years covered by this investigation, but disappeared almost entirely before the close of the period. The little attention paid to the poets of the War of Liberation is as difficult to account for as is the neglect of *Wilhelm Tell*. Of Young Germany, Heine is the only prominent author. The attitude towards him is practically the same as that towards Goethe in the first part of the century. His literary ability is undisputed; his moral tone, which had at first been severely condemned, finding scarcely a single champion, is receiving milder judgment.

There is, throughout the period, a warm undercurrent of feeling for the lyric poets of Germany, of whom Uhland is considered the best exponent. This feeling shows itself on the surface only occasionally in discussions, but its existence is always evidenced by the appearance of translations.

In the last decade of the period, the great production of novels absorbed the interest in German literature to such a degree that almost all other authors excepting Goethe were practically excluded. Opinions naturally varied at first, but finally it was generally conceded that the realistic portrayals of every-day life and the minute soul-analysis, as well as the fearless discussions of political and social problems, were worthy of attention. The judgment of the journals was, on the whole, good. For, while considerable attention was paid to the ephemeral novel, most of the serious discussion is directed to such authors as Auerbach, Spielhagen, Freytag, and Reuter. However, we must not overlook the fact that no mention is made of the most artistic spirits, such as Storm and Keller, whose works were also slow in gaining recognition in Germany.

The drama—now considered artistically the greatest of the productions of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century—is practically unknown to American periodicals. Grillparzer, Ludwig, and more especially Hebbel, were treated with too

much indifference and disdain in their native land to find much consideration in any foreign country.

A general characteristic of all the discussions is the emphasis laid on the ethical side of German literary productions as opposed to the esthetic. To be sure, we often meet in the journals warm praise of the artistic elements, but there is an almost total lack of incisive criticism from this point of view. The subjects that attract the American critic are of another kind. The moral character of the author and of the incidents portrayed, the question whether the philosophy inspiring the production is a healthy one, and the effect that the study of the work will have on the mind of the reader,—in other words, the good that is to be gained from the knowledge of the literature—these are the matters of prime importance.

Examination of the most important journals of the last two decades of the nineteenth century shows that the number of references in periodicals of a more general character decreases slightly. This, however, can not be taken as indicating diminished interest in German literature. Until the eighth decade, literary critics were confined almost entirely to the general magazines for the publication of their articles. After 1880, specifically literary journals were founded. Moreover, in the latter part of the century, German literature was studied to such an extent in America that book publications on the subject began to appear. Reference to a number of these has already been made.¹ In the succeeding years, additions were made to this list. While, therefore, a study of the journals for the first eight decades of the nineteenth century presents a comprehensive view of the attitude of the American critics to German literature during that time, these book publications, as well as the literary periodicals, must be taken as the basis of a history of literary criticism in the closing decades of the century.

¹ See above, p. 37.

LIST A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF REFERENCES

In the preparation of this bibliography, only those titles were included which bear directly on German literature in its narrower sense. Articles dealing with theology and history were excluded, as were also announcements of books which contain no expression of opinion, and brief personal notes which do not assist in giving an insight into the attitude towards the subject of the item. The writer felt that these could safely be omitted, as the value of such notices is only to testify to an interest in German literature, without indicating the trend of that interest. While this is important in dealing with the earlier part of the century, the number of references which remain after eliminating these short notes is abundant testimony to the fact that such interest was very strong in the second half of the century, and their insertion would only needlessly increase the length of the list.

For the sake of brevity and convenience in reference, no attempt has been made to reproduce the exact titles of books as found in the journals, only so much being given as is necessary to identify the title of the work discussed. In cases where a large number of unimportant book-titles are gathered into one group review, and only a few words are devoted to each book, the general heading alone is given. The attempt has been made to give a very brief characterization of all articles of importance. In the case of each article which has been discussed in the historical portion of the dissertation, reference is made to the page on which it is considered. The German titles of translations have been added in a few instances, but no attempt has been made to carry this out systematically. The length of translations of well-know selections has not been indicated, as they naturally coincide with the German originals in this respect.

In searching for material, the tables of contents were depended on whenever they seemed reliable. When such was not the case, the volume was examined page by page. Thus it may be assumed

that every item of importance was found, although presumably small notices and translations of short poems were overlooked in some cases.

The arrangement of the journals in each year is alphabetic, while the individual references are arranged according to the volume and page of the journal.¹

1846.

AMERICAN WHIG REVIEW.

1. III: 159.—*Schiller, The Vastness of the Universe*. [*Die Grösse der Welt*]. Tr. by Nosmetipsi.
2. III: 224.—*Carlyle, Life of Schiller*. Rev. (1 col.)
3. III: 319.—*The Attraction of Sympathy, or Law of Love*. A free version of Schiller, *Fantasia an Laura*. By Nosmetipsi.
4. III: 673.—*Feuerbach, Remarkable Criminal Tales*. Tr. by Lady Duff Gordon. Rev. (25 ll.)
5. IV: 119.—*Lyser, Julietta, or the Beautiful Head*. Tr. by Mrs. St. Simon. (12 pp.)
6. IV: 542.—*Schlegel, Philosophy of History*. Tr. by Robertson. Rev. (1 col.)
7. IV: 580.—In rev. of *Longfellow, Poets and Poetry of Europe*, a disc. of Germ. lit. with specimens.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

8. XL: 267.—*Rückert, A Parable*. Tr. by C. T. B[rooks].
9. XL: 269.—*Rückert, The Tree of Life*. Tr. by C. T. B[rooks].
10. XL: 299.—*Richter, Walt and Vult*. Tr. Rev. by H. (1 p.)
11. XLI: 300.—*Halm, Griselda*. Tr. by Q. E. D. Rev. (1 p.)
12. XLI: 302.—*Fichte, Memoirs*. By William Smith. Rev. (30 ll.)
13. XLI: 457.—*Oehlenschläger, Correggio; Grillparzer, Sappho*. Tr. by Mrs. Lee. Rev. (30 ll.)

CHRISTIAN PARLOR MAGAZINE.

14. III: 171.—*Schiller*. (2 pp.)
15. III: 181.—*Krummacher, Repentance*. Tr. by Mrs. St. Simon. (1 p.)
16. III: 182.—*Jung-Stilling, Poor Florence*. Tr. by Mrs. St. Simon.

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

17. XVIII: 270.—*An Epigram of Hardenberg*. (1 col.)
18. XVIII: 353, 449.—*Johanna Schopenhauer, The Favorite*. Tr.
19. XIX: 55.—*Some Translations from Uhland*. By William Allen Butler. (8 ballads.)

¹ The references to *Nation* and *Every Saturday* are taken from lists prepared by Miss Cora E. Bissell.

20. XIX: 106.—*Gluck in Paris*. Tr. from the German by M. H. (7 pp.)
 21. XIX: 193, 298.—*Haydn's Apprenticeship*. Tr. from the German by M. H. (10 pp.)
 22. XIX: 443.—*Goethe, Autobiog. Ed. by Parke Godwin*. Rev. [Sympathetic. For continuation, see No. 87. See p. 68.] (12 pp.)

ECLECTIC MAGAZINE.

23. VII: 125.—*Lessing*. By G. H. Lewes. Repr. from *Edinb. Rev.* [Appreciative. Condemns rest of German lit. as lacking in purpose. See p. 62.] (11 pp.)
 24. VII: 564.—*Sallet, The Rose's Funeral*. Tr. by John Oxenford. (1 p.)
 25. VIII: 138.—*Robell, The Tree and the Spring*. Tr.
 26. VIII: 299.—*The Autobiog. of Zschokke*. Repr. from *Chamber's Edinb. Jo.* (8 pp.)
 27. VIII: 431.—*Detached Thoughts from Richter*. (1 p.)
 28. VIII: 433.—*Life and Writings of Schüller*. Repr. from *Sharpe's London Mag.* [Appreciative. See p. 76.] (12 pp.)
 29. VIII: 448.—*Leibniz*. Repr. from *No. Brit. Rev.* (11 pp.)
 30. VIII: 571.—*Detached Thoughts from Richter*. (15 ll.)
 31. IX: 287.—*Körner, To Night*. Tr. by M. T.

GODEY'S MAGAZINE.

32. XXXII: 92.—*Come, Come Away!* Song, with music, adapted from the German by W. E. Hickson. (1 p.)
 33. XXXII: 127.—*Uhland, The Three Songs*. Tr. by C. B. Cranch. (12 pp.)
 34. XXXII: 193.—*Goethe, Margaret's Song*. Tr. by Ernest Helfenstein.
 35. XXXII: 246.—*Gellert, Good Advice. On Marriage*. Tr. by J. T. S. Sullivan. (26 ll.)
 36. XXXII: 251.—*Herder, The Choice of Flora*. Tr. by C.
 37. XXXIII: 21.—*Deceitful Blue*. Tr. from the German by A. Fleming. [Poem.] (27 ll.)
 38. XXXIII: 40.—*Claudius, Fragments*. Tr. by C.
 39. XXXIII: 283.—*Herder*. [Character sketch.] (1 p.)

GRAHAM'S ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE.

40. XXVIII: 284.—*Fouqué, Theodolf, the Icelander, and Aslauga's Knight*. Tr. Rev. (20 ll.)
 41. XXIX: 216.—*The Rose of Jericho. Or the Young Painter*. Tr. from the German by Mary E. Lee. (6 pp.)
 42. XXIX: 140.—*Körner, Covenant Song on the Morning before the Battle of Danneberg*. Tr.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

43. VIII: 343.—*Tales from the German of Heinrich Zschokke*. Rev. Repr. from *Tribune*. (15 ll.)
 44. VIII: 628.—*Walt and Vult, or the Twins*. Tr. from the *Fiegelejahre of Jean Paul*. Rev. Repr. from *Tribune*. (2 pp.)
 45. IX: 104.—*Feuerbach, Remarkable Criminal Tales*. Rev. Repr. from *N. Y. Evening Post*. (20 ll.)

46. IX: 267.—*Krummacher, The Shells.* Tr.
 47. IX: 343.—*Lessing, Merops.* Tr.
 48. IX: 360.—*The Old Player.* Imitated from Anastasius Grün by
 A. Lodge. Repr. from *Blackwood's Mag.* [Poem.] (68 ll.)
 49. IX: 361.—Same as No. 26.
 50. X: 393.—*Leibniz.* Repr. from *Edinb. Rev.* (8 pp.)

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

51. VI: 155.—*Carlyle, Life of Schiller.* Rev. (15 ll.)

NEW YORK ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE.

52. II: 64.—*Fouqué, Theodolf the Icelander, and Aslauga's Knight.*
 Tr. Rev. (6 ll.)
 53. II: 92.—*Arndt, Klaus Avenstaken. A Legend of the old Sea Kings.* Tr. (12 pp.)
 54. II: 492.—*Goethe, Autobiog. Ed. by Parke Godwin.* Rev. (20 ll.)

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

55. XII: 11.—*Tromlitz, The Death Knell.* Tr. by Mary E. Lee. (7 pp.)
 56. XII: 63.—*Walt und Vult, or the Twins. Tr. from the Flegeljahre of Jean Paul.* Rev. (10 ll.)
 57. XII: 158.—*Körner, The Rock of Hans Heiling.* Tr. (6 pp.)
 58. XII: 488 seq.—*Aaron's Rod, or the Young Jewess.* Tr. from the German by Mary E. Lee. (3 inst.)
 59. XII: 616 seq.—*Hanke, The Balsam.* Tr. by Mary E. Lee. (3 inst.)

SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

60. IX: 237.—*Tieck, Der gesticfelte Kater.* Rev. by L. [Favorable. See pp. 20, 83.] (6 pp.)
 61. IX: 282.—*Carlyle, Schiller.* Rev. (20 ll.)
 62. X: 253.—*Fichte.* (1 p.)

1847

AMERICAN LITERARY MAGAZINE.

63. I: 20.—*Uhland, The Lost Church.* Tr. by L. F. Robinson.

AMERICAN WHIG REVIEW.

64. V: 122.—*Goethe, The Happy Pair.* Tr.
 65. V: 122.—*Uhland, The Castle by the Shore.* Tr. by William Barber.
 66. V: 190.—*The Meeting of Siegfried and Chriemhilt.* Tr. from the Third Adventure of the *Nibelungen Lied*, by Carl Benson. (6 stanzas.)
 67. V: 214.—*Schiller, The Revolt of the Netherlands.* Tr. by Morrison. Rev. (1 col.)

[362]

68. V: 321.—*Schiller, The Thirty Years' War. Tr. by Morrison.* (1 p.)
 Rev.
 69. V: 539.—*Goethe, Autobiog. Ed. by Parke Godwin.* Rev. [See
 p. 66, note 16.] (1 p.)
 70. V: 583.—*Fouqué, The Unknown Old Man in the Mountains.*
 Tr. by Saml. Spring.
 71. VI: 165.—*Heine. A "Gossiping Letter" from "a new Contribu-*
tor." (8 pp.)
 72. VI: 497.—*A German View of English Criticism.* By Theodore
 A. Tellkampf. (7 pp.)

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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1848

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1849

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1850

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316. VII: 459.—*Arndt, Song for the Festival of all Germans*. Tr. by C. T. B[ooks].
317. VII: 460.—*Heine, Child's Play*. Tr. by C. T. B[ooks].
318. VII: 482.—*Schmidt (of Lübeck), Stranger's Evening Song*. Tr. by C. T. B[ooks] to supply the 4 stanzas missing in Mrs. Heman's version.

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1851

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 C. T. B[rooks].
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1852

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1853

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[380]

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 524. XLII: 373.—*The Last Song*. From the German.

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 526. I: 170.—Same as No. 352.

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1854

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1855

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1856

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[387]

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1857

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[389]

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 735. V: 304.—Same as No. 723.
 736. V: 325.—Same as No. 724.

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1858

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1859

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[399]

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1868

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1869

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1872

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[416]

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1873

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1874

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49.] (7 pp.)
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1875

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1880

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LIST B

GERMAN AUTHORS REFERRED TO

- Alexander of Württemberg, (1863) 889.**
Amalie of Saxony, (1848) 184.
Arndt, Ernst Moritz, (1846) 53, (1850) 316, (1858) 765, (1863) 879,
(1870) 1128, (1871) 1207, 1224, (1873) 1352, (1879) 1706, 1721, 1740.
Arnim, Achim v., (1854) 598, (1873) 1367.
Arnim, Bettina v., (1852) 497.
Auerbach, Berthold, (1847) 74, 99, (1849) 195, (1850) 288, 310, 332,
339, (1851) 397, (1853) 507, 514, (1857) 723, (1858) 735, (1860)
822, (1862) 862, (1867) 961, 977, 978, (1868) 994, 997, 1003, 1009,
1029, (1869) 1039, 1042, 1045, 1053, 1059, 1065, 1067, 1068, 1070, 1081,
1082, 1084, 1085, 1093, 1095, 1106, 1108, 1109, (1870) 1135, 1141,
1159, 1178, (1871) 1214, (1874) 1384, 1388, 1398, 1400, 1402, 1409,
1416, 1421, 1435, 1440, (1875) 1444, 1445, 1467, 1461, 1486,
(1876) 1553, (1877) 1579, 1591, 1593, 1598, 1601, 1612, 1616, 1621,
(1878) 1636, 1643, 1650, 1663, 1676, 1684, (1879) 1698, (1880) 1766,
1774, 1782, 1790, 1798, 1809, 1810, 1812.
Auersperg, Alexander v., see Anastasius Grün.
Bauer, Klara (Carl Detlef) (1873) 1358, (1875) 1464, 1467, 1482.
Baumbach, Rudolf, (1852) 496, (1879) 1693.
Bechstein, Ludwig, (1849) 237.
Bodenstedt, Friedrich, (1851) 387, 418, (1857) 732, (1869) 1087, (1876)
1522, (1879) 1755, (1880) 1802.
Börne, Ludwig, (1848) 189, (1871) 1248, (1878) 1673.
Brachmann, Luise, (1857) 710.
Brant, Sebastian, (1880) 1817.
Brentano, Clemens, (1849) 203.
Bürger, Gottfried August, (1852) 463, (1858) 758, (1869) 1064, (1871)
1211.
Bürstenbinder, Elisabeth, (E. Werner), (1872) 1296, (1877) 1614, 1616,
(1879) 1735, 1754.
Busch, Wilhelm, (1870) 1148, (1871) 1212, 1235.
Carové, Friedrich Wilhelm, (1848) 190.
Chamisso, Adalbert v., (1851) 412, (1859) 791, (1873) 1350.
Claudius, Matthias, (1846) 38, (1849) 227, (1850) 320, (1868) 1004.
Cramm, Burghard v., (1872) 1265.
Detlef, see Klara Bauer.
Dewall, (1875) 1480.
Dincklage, E. v., (1871) 1236.
Dingelstedt, Franz, (1868) 1006, 1013, 1028, (1869) 1058, 1089, 1092,
(1877) 1603, (1880) 1805, 1828.
Dulk, A. B., (1867) 991.
Ebeling, Friedrich, (1851) 389.
Ebers, Georg, (1878) 1658, (1879) 1711, 1744, (1880) 1769, 1770, 1772,
1773, 1792, 1794, 1803, 1806, 1807, 1825, 1835.
Eckstein, Ernst, (1875) 1448, (1876) 1559, 1560.
Elchendorff, Joseph v., (1851) 357, (1852) 448, 480, 493, (1856) 684,
(1866) 945, (1868) 1030.
Elze, Karl, (1878) 1686.
Engel, J. J., (1852) 502.
Esche, Luise, (1864) 906.

- Feuerbach, Ludwig**, (1846) 4, 45.
- Fichte, Johann G.**, (1846) 12, 62, (1847) 133, (1848) 160, (1851) 417, (1866) 947, (1867) 983, (1868) 1017, 1021, (1869) 1071, (1870) 1175, (1877) 1619.
- Fouqué, Fr. de la Motte**, (1846) 40, 52, (1847) 70, 125, 130, (1849) 197, 230, 234, (1850) 338, (1858) 740, (1865) 927, (1867) 982, (1869) 1051.
- François, Luise v.**, (1875) 1452.
- Franzos, Karl Emil**, (1878) 1659.
- Frauenlob**, (1871) 1252, (1872) 1314.
- Freiligrath, Ferdinand**, (1847) 94, 95, 117, (1849) 196, 215, (1850) 290, (1851) 372, (1853) 522, (1856) 656, (1859) 775, (1860) 826, 827, (1871) 1232, (1876) 1503.
- Freytag, Gustav**, (1857) 704, (1858) 750, 751, 766, 767, 768, (1860) 831, (1864) 905, (1866) 954, (1867) 974, (1871) 1214, (1873) 1320, 1322, 1347, 1349, 1359, 1378, (1874) 1420, (1875) 1477, 1488, 1489, 1500, (1877) 1595, (1879) 1724.
- Friedrich, Friedrich**, (1871) 1230.
- Gaudy, Franz v.**, (1850) 319.
- Geibel, Emanuel**, (1850) 335, (1851) 410, (1853) 521, 535, (1856) 655, (1858) 759, (1862) 861, (1870) 1117, (1879) 1736.
- Gellert, Christian F.**, (1846) 35, (1852) 453, (1880) 1778. See Gillet.
- George-Kaufmann, Amara**, (1880) 1767.
- Gerhardt, Paul**, (1853) 537, (1864) 912, (1872) 1274.
- Gerstaecker, Friedrich**, (1847) 81, 84, (1848) 153, 170, 177, 178, 185, (1853) 517, 548, (1855) 620, 642, (1869) 1052, (1871) 1251, (1876) 1515.
- Gessner, Salomon**, (1853) 571.
- Gillet, (Gellert?)** (1874) 1390.
- Gleim, Joh. Wilh. Ludw.**, (1853) 523, (1860) 819.
- Glümer, Claire v.**, (1876) 1530, (1877) 1611.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang**, (1846) 22, 34, 54, 64, (1847) 69, 87, 91, 104, 106, 108, 109, 111, 114, 122, 136, 138, 143, (1848) 155, 156, 172, 174, 194, (1849) 200, 204, 206, 225, 245, (1850) 248, 251, 253, 254, 262, 265, 269, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 285, 301, 309, 311, 314, 323, 324, 326, 331, (1851) 343, 347, 348, 350, 351, 355, 356, 358, 363, 364, 366, 367, 380, 385, 400, 402, 405, 414, 416, 419, 423, 424, 426, (1852) 431, 447, 454, 470, 486, 489, 499, (1853) 534, 536, 538, 540, 544, 545, 547, 555, 556, (1854) 590, 599, 603, 606, (1855) 608, 610, 611, 622, 636, 641, 647, (1856) 649, 651, 652, 658, 659, 664, 665, 671, 672, 673, 674, 680, 685, 687, 688, 689, 693, 694, 696, 697, (1857) 703, 721, 725, 728, (1858) 737, 738, 739, 742, 744, 746, (1859) 774, 776, 778, 779, 780, 781, 784, 787, 790, (1860) 796, 797, 815, 820, 824, 833, 835, 836, (1861) 847, (1862) 859, 864, 867, 870, 872, (1863) 880, 881, 895, 898, (1865) 928, 931, 932, 933, 943, (1867) 964, 965, 968, 990, (1868) 995, 998, 1019, (1869) 1041, 1077, 1083, 1101, (1870) 1124, 1127, 1130, 1133, 1136, 1145, 1150, 1152, 1160, 1166, 1173, 1176, 1177, 1180, (1871) 1184, 1188, 1193, 1194, 1200, 1203, 1205, 1210, 1213, 1218, 1221, 1225, 1227, 1234, 1239, 1240, 1242, 1247, 1249, 1256, (1872) 1266, 1268, 1270, 1271, 1282, 1283, 1287, 1288, 1291, 1297, 1299, 1310, 1311, 1312, (1873) 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, 1332, 1343, 1348, 1353, 1360, (1874) 1385, 1393, 1396, 1401, 1403, 1405, 1422, 1427, 1439, (1875) 1446, 1447, 1455, 1460, 1463, 1470, 1473, 1484, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1501, (1876) 1512, 1514, 1520, 1525, 1531, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1541, 1543, 1548, 1552, 1565, 1570, 1571, (1877) 1578,

- 1584, 1589, 1597, 1606, 1607, 1610, 1615, 1622, 1624, 1629, (1878)
 1639, 1651, 1668, 1669, 1674, 1677, 1679, 1682, (1879) 1694, 1697,
 1699, 1705, 1709, 1710, 1716, 1727, 1728, 1733, 1741, 1742, 1743,
 1746, 1750, 1756, 1763, (1880) 1771, 1775, 1776, 1791, 1796, 1799,
 1800, 1801, 1819, 1826, 1829.
- Göhren, Caroline v., see Frau von Zöllner.
- Görres, Jakob Josef v., (1855) 626.
- Gottfried von Strassburg, (1871) 1201.
- Gotthelf, Jeremias, (1861) 841, (1864) 911.
- Gottschall, Rudolf, (1867) 970.
- Grillparzer, Franz, (1846) 13, (1847) 103, (1858) 769, (1872) 1273,
 (1876) 1528, (1877) 1630, (1880) 1804.
- Grimm, Gabriel, (1848) 191.
- Grimm, Hermann, (1865) 939, (1866) 950, (1867) 981, (1870) 1163,
 (1872) 1263, (1876) 1518, (1877) 1615, 1622, (1880) 1800, 1801.
- Grimm, Jakob, (1854) 597, 600, (1861) 851, (1864) 908, (1865) 942,
 (1868) 1022, (1869) 1049, 1075, 1076, (1880) 1808.
- Grün, Anastasius, (1846) 48, (1849) 203, 205, (1852) 468, (1853) 527,
 533, (1858) 764, (1871) 1220, 1231.
- Gudrunlied, (1875) 1474, (1876) 1551.
- Gutzkow, Karl, (1847) 96, (1850) 286, (1852) 503, (1853) 507, 543, (1860)
 832, (1870) 1143, (1872) 1262, (1879) 1712, 1713.
- Hackländer, Friedrich, (1855) 619, (1856) 679, (1858) 762, (1871) 1198,
 1237, (1872) 1309, (1877) 1602, (1878) 1653.
- Hahn-Hahn, Ida v., (1847) 79, 131, (1851) 381, (1853) 510, (1861) 838,
 (1871) 1241, (1872) 1285, (1880) 1768, 1788.
- Halm, Friedrich. See Münch-Bellinghausen.
- Hanke, Henriette W., (1846) 59.
- Hardenberg, Friedrich von, (1846) 17, (1848) 186, 187, (1849) 197, 207,
 (1853) 529, (1873) 1371, (1874) 1413, (1876) 1458, (1877) 1592.
- Harring, Harro, (1851) 407.
- Hartmann, (1850) 328.
- Hauff, Wilhelm, (1847) 118, (1849) 228, (1851) 359, (1860) 803, 807,
 (1876) 1556.
- Hebbel, Friedrich, (1851) 377.
- Hebel, Johann Peter, (1853) 575, (1862) 856, (1866) 952.
- Hegel, Georg Friedr. Wilh., (1850) 251, (1858) 747, (1866) 946, 957,
 (1867) 966, (1868) 1014, 1018, (1871) 1199.
- Heine, Heinrich, (1847) 71, 92, (1848) 162, (1849) 210, 214, 224, 240,
 (1850) 284, 317, (1851) 354, (1852) 429, 438, 440, 442, 444, (1853)
 518, (1854) 586, (1855) 618, 623, 643, (1856) 660, 663, 675, 676,
 677, 686, 692, 695, (1858) 749, (1861) 843, (1863) 894, (1866) 956,
 (1869) 1055, 1056, 1078, (1870) 1151, 1165, (1871) 1196, 1206,
 1226, (1872) 1272, 1278, (1873) 1318, 1329, 1340, 1345, 1377, (1874)
 1399, 1425, 1441, (1875) 1469, 1494, (1876) 1509, 1523, 1563, (1877)
 1573, 1587, 1600, (1878) 1640, 1642, 1644, 1646, 1670, 1689, (1879)
 1717, 1723, (1880) 1789.
- Heller, Robert, (1858) 741.
- Helm, Clementine, (1877) 1613.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, (1846) 36, 39, (1847) 93, 140, (1848) 181,
 (1850) 251, 281, 337, (1853) 572, 574, (1857) 724, (1858) 736, (1862)
 863, (1872) 1302, 1306, (1873) 1362, (1878) 1655, 1675, 1681.
- Heyse, Paul, (1855) 624, (1869) 1073, (1871) 1187, 1191, (1875) 1449,
 (1876) 1517, (1878) 1645, 1652, 1656, 1678, (1879) 1690, 1695, 1701,
 1704, 1714, 1732, 1752, 1758.

- Hildebrandslied**, (1852) 480.
Hillern, Wilhelmine v., (1870) 1140, 1156, (1872) 1279, 1293, (1873) 1316, 1335, 1338, 1357, (1876) 1542, (1877) 1616, (1879) 1753, (1880) 1766, 1813, 1822.
Höfer, Bernhard, (1870) 1147.
Höfer, E., (1872) 1269.
Hoffmann, E. Th. A., (1847) 80, (1852) 494.
Hoffmann von Fallersleben, (1856) 670, (1874) 1383.
Höity, Ludwig, (1852) 458.
Horn, Moritz, (1873) 1337.
Humboldt, Wilhelm von, (1850) 249, (1860) 834, (1865) 941, (1873) 1321.
Immermann, Karl, (1851) 398.
Ingersleben, Frau v., (1877) 1609.
Jacobi, Johann Georg, (1849) 244.
Jäger, Hermann, (1852) 495.
Jensen, Wilhelm, (1877) 1585.
Jung-Stilling, (1846) 16.
Junker, E., (1878) 1665.
Kant, Immanuel, (1855) 644, (1872) 1300.
Keller, Gottfried, (1880) 1764, 1815.
Kerner, Justinus, (1850) 297, 299, (1852) 441, 442, 443, 462, (1856) 650, (1862) 868.
Keymann, Chr., (1865) 935.
Kinkel, Johann Gottfried, (1854) 595.
Kisslin, A., (1852) 496.
Klemm, L. R., (1879) 1720.
Klinger, Fr. Max. von, (1860) 813.
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb, (1849) 241, (1851) 391, (1859) 785, (1864) 916, (1880) 1816.
Knorring, Baroness, (1848) 146, 154, 180.
Kobell, Franz von (1861) 854.
Kopisch, August, (1852) 452.
Körner, Theodor, (1846) 31, 42, 57, (1847) 126, (1848) 164, (1849) 198, (1850) 265, (1851) 360, 425, (1855) 630, (1860) 798, 800, 823, 830, (1861) 852, 853, (1863) 890, (1864) 910, (1874) 1438.
Kortum, Karl Arnold, (1851) 376, 411, (1863) 897.
Kotzebue, August v., (1865) 934.
Krummacher, Friedrich A., (1846) 15, 46, (1847) 76, (1852) 442, (1853) 554, (1854) 592.
Lampertus, (1868) 1008.
Langbein, August F., (1847) 124, (1850) 302.
Laube, Heinrich, (1872) 1267.
Lehnert, (1853) 576.
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm, (1846) 29, 50, (1847) 105, 112, (1858) 743, (1864) 917, (1869) 1088.
Lenau, Nikolaus, (1850) 283, (1858) 753, 760, (1861) 846, (1878) 1660.
Lenzen, Marle, (1874) 1411, 1429.
Lessing, G. E., (1846) 23, 47, (1847) 127, 128, (1848) 152, (1849) 202, 231, (1851) 341, (1856) 699, (1858) 752, (1863) 886, 892, (1866) 955, (1867) 958, 962, 963, 973, 986, (1868) 992, 996, 1001, 1010, 1015, 1020, 1027, (1870) 1132, (1871) 1216, (1873) 1351, (1874) 1381, 1386, 1394, 1397, 1407, 1408, 1415, 1419, 1434, 1439, (1875) 1496, 1498, (1877) 1586, (1878) 1637, 1664, 1688, (1879) 1731, 1737, 1745, 1747.
Lewald, Fanny, (1851) 368, (1861) 839, (1871) 1250, (1874) 1417.

- Lichtwer, M. S., (1853) 551.
 Lindau, Paul, (1877) 1627.
 Lindau, Rudolf, (1876) 1538, (1877) 1575, 1576, 1605, (1878) 1647,
 1666, 1672, (1879) 1749, 1757, (1880) 1814.
 Ludwig, Otto, (1857) 702, (1859) 773, 782, (1872) 1260, 1301.
 Luther,¹ Martin, (1850) 298, (1852) 466, (1865) 935.
 Lyser, (1846) 5.
 Mähl, Joachim, (1872) 1264.
 Maltitz, Appolonius v., (1851) 375, 409.
 Marie, Jeanne, (1851) 390.
 Marlitt, Eugenie, (1868) 1007, 1011, 1012, 1025, (1869) 1072, 1112,
 (1870) 1118, (1872) 1276, 1294, (1874) 1410, 1418, (1876) 1527,
 1547, (1877) 1616, (1879) 1700, 1726, 1738.
 Marner, (1871) 1252.
 Matthiesson, Friedrich, (1847) 115, (1849) 247, (1876) 1564.
 Mayem, Gustav v., (1851) 382.
 Meinhold, Wilhelm, (1853) 539.
 Mels, A., (1876) 1519.
 Mendelssohn, Moses, (1848) 148, (1861) 847, (1870) 1130, (1872) 1283,
 1297.
 Merrian, Theodor M., (1852) 442.
 Miller, Johann Martin, (1853) 546.
 Moltke, Count, (1879) 1725.
 Mörike, Eduard, (1856) 661, (1857) 716.
 Mosen, Julius, (1852) 460.
 Mügge, Theodor, (1854) 604, (1856) 662, (1865) 938.
 Mühlbach, Luise, (1867) 959, 960, 971, 972, 985, 988, (1868) 993, 995,
 999, 1023, 1026, (1869) 1069, 1103, (1870) 1139, 1170, (1871) 1190,
 (1872) 1280, 1284, 1295, (1874) 1379.
 Mühler, Wolfgang, (1864) 923.
 Müller, Christine, (1874) 1433.
 Müller, Wilhelm, (1847) 90, (1850) 292, 308, (1852) 461, 500.
 Münch-Bellinghausen, E. F. J. v., (1846) 11, (1848) 179.
 Naumann, Jacob, (1849) 236.
 Nibelungenlied, (1847) 66, (1850) 264, (1851) 555, (1864) 915, (1874)
 1430, 1431, (1875) 1483, (1876) 1550, (1877) 1590, (1878) 1661,
 1680, 1687, (1879) 1762.
 Nieritz, Gustav, (1852) 476, (1855) 640.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, (1874) 1395, (1875) 1478.
 Novalis, see Hardenberg.
 Oerr, V., (1861) 849.
 Pechnazi, (1869) 1105.
 Peterson, Marie, (1876) 1561.
 Pfarrius, Gustav, (1870) 1174.
 Pfau, Ludwig, (1872) 1277.
 Pfeffer, Gottlieb K., (1859) 786.
 Pfitzer, Gustav, (1855) 629.
 Platen, August v., (1849) 229, (1851) 422, (1857) 711, (1859) 777,
 (1868) 1031.
 Plettenhaus, Luise v., (1857) 713.
 Plönnes, Luise v., (1851) 382, (1859) 788.
 Polko, Elise, (1854) 581, (1855) 614, (1864) 918, (1869) 1036, 1037,
 1050, 1094, (1870) 1114, 1115, 1116, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1164,
 (1871) 1186, 1189, 1192, (1872) 1257, 1269.

¹ There are, of course, numerous references to Luther as a theologian, which have not been listed.

- Pröiss, Robert**, (1851) 393.
Prutz, Robert Eduard, (1851) 396.
Putlitz, Gustav, (1856) 683.
Raimund, Ferdinand, (1880) 1820.
Redwitz, Oskar V., (1858) 748, 761, (1869) 1080.
Regenbogen, (1871) 1252.
Reuter, Fritz, (1867) 974, 979, 980, (1868) 1016, (1870) 1153, (1871) 1223, (1872) 1289, 1290, (1873) 1354, (1874) 1406, 1412, (1875) 1451, 1454, (1876) 1532, 1557.
Reynard the Fox, (1851) 370, (1865) 926, (1871) 1219.
Richter, Jean Paul, (1846) 10, 27, 30, 44, 56, (1847) 98, 100, 101, 107, 110, 120, (1848) 165, (1849) 216, 220, 221, 236, 238, 239, (1850) 265, 274, 303, 315, 336, 340, (1851) 352, 404, 413, 415, (1852) 465, 471, (1853) 511, 526, 553, 573, (1855) 615, (1857) 708, (1858) 757, (1859) 783, (1860) 812, (1861) 842, (1862) 870, (1863) 874, 875, 878, 883, 899, 900, (1864) 909, 920, 922, (1865) 937, (1869) 1033, 1057, (1870) 1113, (1880) 1785. ✓
Robell, (1846) 25.
Rothenfels, E. v., (1872) 1292.
Rückert, Friedrich, (1846) 8, 9, (1850) 250, 258, 259, 261, 294, 295, 300, 305, (1851) 345, 349, 408, (1852) 451, 455, (1853) 549, (1854) 578, (1860) 811, 817, 818, (1866) 944, 948, (1868) 1000, 1002, 1005, (1869) 1090, (1870) 1168, (1871) 1243, (1872) 1307, 1313, (1876) 1529, (1880) 1779.
Sachs, Hans, (1850) 266.
Sallet, Friedrich v., (1846) 24, (1849) 218, 233, (1856) 682.
Scheffel, Joseph Victor v., (1872) 1281, (1875) 1495.
Schefer, Leopold, (1867) 976, (1871) 1217, (1873) 1375.
Scheffler, Johann [Angelus Silesius], (1871) 1254.
Schenkendorf, Max v., (1858) 756, (1867) 969.
Scherr, Johannes, (1876) 1521.
Schiller, Friedrich, (1846) 1, 2, 3, 14, 28, 51, 61, (1847) 67, 68, 73, 77, 89, 97, 116, 134, 135, 141, (1848) 147, 151, 158, 163, 174, 183, 193, (1849) 211, 242, 246, (1850) 251, 252, 257, 263, 265, 275, 278, 280, 293, 330, 333, (1851) 356, 362, 401, 406, (1852) 432, 439, 469, 470, 483, 492, (1853) 505, 536, (1854) 594, 607, (1855) 609, 616, 645, (1856) 700, (1857) 714, (1858) 742, (1859) 774, 795, (1860) 814, 816, 821, (1862) 870, (1863) 893, 896, (1864) 902, 914, (1865) 930, 940, (1866) 951, (1867) 987, (1868) 995, (1870) 1129, 1131, (1871) 1215, (1873) 1321a, 1331, 1334, 1356, 1360, (1874) 1380, 1432, 1439, 1442, (1875) 1459, 1472, 1485, 1499, (1876) 1505, 1520, 1537, 1549, (1877) 1592, 1607, 1631, 1633, (1879) 1694, 1699, 1705, 1716, 1733, 1741, 1742, 1750, 1751, 1756, (1880) 1791, 1795. ✓
Schlegel, A. W., (1852) 445.
Schlegel, Friedrich, (1846) 7, (1847) 113, (1848) 149, (1849) 219.
Schleiermacher, Friedrich, (1850) 251, (1852) 428, (1861) 850, (1862) 860, 873, (1869) 1046, 1048, 1079.
Schlippenbach, Albert, Graf v., (1852) 480.
Schmid, Hermann, (1869) 1044, 1061, 1098, 1102, 1111, (1870) 1182.
Schmidt, Julian, (1851) 388, (1871) 1195, (1872) 1258, (1874) 1387, (1875) 1453.
Schmidt, Klamer, (1849) 212.
Schmidt [of Lübeck], (1850) 318.
Schneckenburger, Max, (1870) 1134.

- Schopenhauer, Arthur**, (1854) 601, (1864) 904, (1873) 1363, (1876) 1510, 1540, (1877) 1596, (1879) 1691, 1702, 1708.
Schopenhauer, Johanna, (1846) 18, (1847) 121.
Schrader, August, (1852) 478.
Schreiber, Aloys, (1851) 403.
Schücking, Lewin, (1867) 967, (1876) 1526, 1545, (1878) 1685.
Schwab, Gustav, (1857) 718.
Seebach, Marie, (1870) 1119.
Seidl, Johann G., (1855) 631.
Simrock, Karl, (1849) 222, 223, (1850) 287, (1852) 449.
Smets, Wilhelm, (1850) 256.
Solling, Gustav, (1849) 208, 209, (1850) 260, 267.
Spielhagen, Friedrich, (1867) 975, (1869) 1043, 1054, 1060, 1063, 1066, 1096, 1097, 1110, (1870) 1125, 1126, 1137, 1138, 1146, 1154, 1155, 1169, 1171, 1172, 1181, 1183, (1871) 1222, (1873) 1319, (1874) 1382, (1875) 1476, (1877) 1583, 1594, 1616, (1880) 1821.
Spindler, Karl, (1847) 132, (1852) 501.
Spinoza, Benedict, (1851) 399, (1863) 876, (1864) 919, (1869) 989, (1871) 1233, (1874) 1428, (1877) 1572, 1608, 1620, 1625, (1878) 1671.
Starke, Gotthelf, (1853) 552.
Sternberg, Baron v., (1850) 289, (1854) 577.
Stifter, Adalbert, (1850) 255, (1865) 929.
Stolberg, Fr. L. Graf zu, (1850) 250.
Stolle, Ferdinand, (1856) 698.
Storm, Theodor, (1864) 906.
Streckfuss, Adolf, (1878) 1662, (1879) 1719, 1734.
Sturm, Julius, (1870) 1158.
Sumarrow, Gregor, (1877) 1616.
Tauner, (1855) 632.
Temme, J. D. H., (1852) 487.
Theremin, Ludwig F. F., (1856) 681.
Thyrnau, Thomas, (1877) 1581.
Tieck, Ludwig, (1846) 60, (1850) 321, 334, (1853) 509, 531, 541, (1854) 580, 584, (1856) 669, (1864) 924, (1877) 1592, (1880) 1777.
Tromlitz, see **Witzleben**.
Uhland, Ludwig, (1846) 19, 33, 63, (1847) 65, 139, (1848) 144, 167, 173, (1849) 243, (1850) 296, 312, 313, (1851) 342, 361, 373, 374, (1852) 442, 444, 449, 450, 459, 477, 479, 498, (1853) 512, 519, (1854) 593, (1855) 617, (1856) 666, (1858) 745, (1861) 844, (1862) 865, (1863) 884, 885, 888, (1864) 903, 913, (1870) 1157, (1871) 1202, 1207, (1872) 1275, (1878) 1648. ✓
Ulrich von Lichtenstein, (1871) 1253.
Varnhagen v. Ense, (1847) 129, (1860) 804, 805, 806, 834, (1861) 848, (1862) 866, 869, (1869) 1074.
Versen, Max v., (1876) 1554.
Vischer, Friedrich Theodor, (1879) 1722.
Volckhausen, Adalbert v., (1871) 1229.
Voss, Johann Heinrich, (1847) 102, (1852) 430.
Wagner, Richard, (1851) 383, (1863) 901, (1870) 1179, (1871) 1238, (1872) 1259, 1261, 1304, 1308, (1874) 1436, (1875) 1443, 1466, 1471, 1481, 1490, 1497, (1876) 1511, 1539, 1558, (1877) 1580, 1588, 1617, 1618, 1623, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1632, (1879) 1707, 1748, (1880) 1818.
Walther, Johann, (1880) 1827.
Walther von der Vogelweide, (1852) 482, (1876) 1513, 1536, 1562.
Weissflog, Karl, (1851) 420.

- Werner, E., see Bürstenbinder.
 Wickede, Julius v., (1863) 882.
 Wichert, Ernst (1875) 1465.
 Wieland, Christoph Martin, (1862) 871.
 Willdenhahn, Dr., (1854) 582.
 Wildermuth, Otilie v., (1857) 727, (1864) 921.
 Wille, Elisabeth de, (1873) 1317, 1342, 1344, 1373.
 Witzleben, K. A. F. v. [A. v. Tromlitz], (1846) 55.
 Wolfran v. Eschenbach, (1867) 984.
 Zerwitsch, Professor v., (1880) 1786.
 Ziegler, Alexander, (1849) 236.
 Zöllner, Frau v., (1852) 437.
 Zschokke, Heinrich, (1846) 26, 43, 49, (1847) 85, (1848) 157, 159, 176,
 (1850) 270, 322, (1851) 346, 379, 421, (1852) 473, 490, (1853) 516,
 (1854) 585, (1855) 628, 637, (1856) 667, (1857) 707, 729, (1863)
 877, (1869) 1099, (1870) 1149, (1873) 1324, 1336, (1875) 1426, 1475.

LIST C

LIST OF JOURNALS EXAMINED.

- AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. 1-5. Phila. 1876-80.
 AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW. 1-3. N. Y., 1857-58.
 AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD. See POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY.
 AMERICAN LITERARY MAGAZINE. 1-5. Albany and Hartford, 1847-49.
 (Vols. 2, 4, 5 incomplete.)
 AMERICAN MONTHLY. 1. N. Y., 1860.
 AMERICAN NOTES AND QUERIES. 1, Nos. 1-4. Phila., 1857.
 AMERICAN PROTESTANT MAGAZINE. 1, 2. N. Y., 1845-47.
 AMERICAN (WHIG) REVIEW. 3-16. N. Y., 1846-52.
 APPLETON'S JOURNAL. 1-24. N. Y., 1869-80. *Ap. Jo.*
 ATLANTIC MONTHLY. 1-46. Boston, 1857-80. *At. Mo.*
 BALDWIN'S MONTHLY. 8-13. N. Y., 1874-76.
 BALLOU'S DOLLAR MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 1, 2, 7-10. Boston, 1855-60.
 BAPTIST QUARTERLY. 1-9. Phila., 1867-75.
 BEADLE'S MONTHLY. 1-3. N. Y., 1866-67.
 THE BEAUTIFUL WORLD. 1-4. Boston, 1871-74. (Continues SIERRA
 MAGAZINE.)
 BEECHER'S MAGAZINE, 1-5, No. 2. Trenton, N. J., 1871-72.
 (EMERSON) BENNETT'S DOLLAR MONTHLY. 1. Phila., 1860.
 BOOK-BUYER. 1-9. N. Y., 1867-76.
 BOSTON BOOK BULLETIN. 1-3, No. 3. Boston, 1877-80.
 BOSTON REVIEW. 1-6. Boston, 1861-66. (Continued as CONGREGATIONAL
 REVIEW.)
 BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW. 3-24. Boston and N. Y., 1846-64,
 1873-75.
 CATHOLIC WORLD. 1-32. N. Y., 1865-80.
 CENTURY. 1-2, n. s. 1, No. 1. N. Y., 1858-60.
 CHRISTIAN EXAMINER AND RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY. 40-87. Boston,
 1846-69.
 CHRISTIAN OBSERVATORY. 1-4. Boston, 1847-50.
 CHRISTIAN PARLOR MAGAZINE. 3-6. N. Y., 1846-50.
 CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY. 1-3. Cincinnati, 1869-76.
 CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW. 7-11. Boston, 1867-71. (See BOSTON REVIEW.)
 CONTINENTAL MONTHLY. 1-6. Boston and N. Y., 1862-64.

- CORNHILL MONTHLY AND LITERARY RECORDER. 1, No. 1-5. Boston, 1868.
 CRITERION. 1, 2. N. Y., 1855-56.
 DAGUERRETYPE. 1, 2. Boston, 1847-48.
 DEMOCRATIC AGE. 1. N. Y., 1859.
 DEMOCRATIC REVIEW. 18-43. Washington and N. Y., 1846-59. *Dem. Rev.*
 THE DIAL. 1. Cincinnati, 1860.
 ECLECTIC MAGAZINE. 7-95. N. Y., 1846-80. *Ecl. Mag.*
 EMERSON'S UNITED STATES MAGAZINE. 1-7. N. Y., 1854-56.
 EVERY SATURDAY. 1-17. Boston, 1866-74.
 FIRESIDE MONTHLY. 1. N. Y., 1860.
 GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK AND MAGAZINE. 32-101. Phila., 1846-80. *Godey's Mag.*
 GRAHAM'S ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE. 28-37. Phila., 1846-58.
 HARKNESS' MAGAZINE. 1-4. Wilmington, Del., 1872-77.
 HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 1-62. N. Y., 1850-80. *Harp. Mag.*
 HARVARD MAGAZINE. 1-10. Cambridge, 1854-64.
 HERALD OF TRUTH. 1-4. Cincinnati, 1847-48.
 HESPERIAN. 2-10. San Francisco, 1859-63.
 HOLDEN'S DOLLAR MAGAZINE. 1-8. N. Y., 1848-51. ✓
 HOURS AT HOME. 1-11. N. Y., 1865-70.
 HUTCHING'S CALIFORNIA MAGAZINE. 1-3. San Francisco, 1856-59.
 INLAND MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 1-3. St. Louis, 1872-73.
 INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 1-5. N. Y., 1850-52. *Intern. Mag.*
 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. 1-9. N. Y., 1874-80.
 KANSAS MAGAZINE. 1-4. Topeka, 1872-74.
 KNICKERBOCKER. 27-66. N. Y., 1846-65. *Knick.*
 LAKESIDE MONTHLY. 1-11. Chicago, 1869-74. (1-3 called WESTERN MONTHLY.)
 LIBRARY MAGAZINE. 1, 4, 5. N. Y., 1879-80.
 LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE. 1-26. Phila., 1868-80. *Lip. Mag.*
 LITERARY COMPANION. 1. Harrisburg, Pa., 1854.
 LITERARY GEM. 1. Phila., 1853.
 LITERARY WORLD. 4-11. Boston, 1870-80. *Lit. World.*
 LITERARY WORLD. 1-13. N. Y., 1847-53. *Lit. World, N. Y.*
 LITTLE'S LIVING AGE. 8-147. Boston, 1846-80. *L. L. A.*
 LOUISVILLE MONTHLY MAGAZINE. 1. Louisville, Ky., 1879.
 MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW. 1-3. Boston, 1847-50.
 METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. 6-40. N. Y., 1846-80.
 METROPOLITAN. 1-6. Baltimore, 1853-58.
 MONTHLY LITERARY MISCELLANY. 2-5. Detroit, 1850-51.
 MRS. STEPHEN'S ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY. 1-4. N. Y., 1856-58.
 NATION. 1-31. N. Y., 1865-80.
 NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. 1. Washington, 1860.
 NATIONAL MAGAZINE. 1-13. N. Y., 1852-58.
 NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW. 1-41. N. Y., 1860-80. *Nat. Quart. Rev.*
 NATIONAL REPOSITORY. 1-8. Cincinnati, 1877-80.
 NEW ECLECTIC. See SOUTHERN MAGAZINE.
 NEW ENGLANDER. 4-39. New Haven, 1846-80. *New Eng.*
 NEW HAMPSHIRE REPOSITORY. 1, 2. Gilmanton, 1845-47.
 NEW PICTORIAL FAMILY MAGAZINE. 3-5. N. Y., 1846-49.
 NEW YORK ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE. 2, 3. 1846-47.
 NEW YORK QUARTERLY. 1-4. N. Y., 1852-55.
 NILE'S REGISTER. 69-75. Baltimore, Washington, and Phila., 1846-49.
 NINETEENTH CENTURY. 1, 2. Charleston, S. C., 1869-70.

- NINETEENTH CENTURY. 1-3. Phila., 1848-49.
 NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. 62-80. Boston and N. Y., 1846-80. *N. A. R.*
 NORTHERN MONTHLY AND NEW JERSEY MAGAZINE. 1-3. N. Y. and Newark, 1867-68.
 NORTHERN MONTHLY. 1. Portland, Me., 1864.
 NORTON'S LITERARY GAZETTE AND PUBLISHER'S CIRCULAR. 1, n. s. 2. N. Y., 1851-55.
 OLD AND NEW. 1-11. Boston, 1870-75.
 ONCE A MONTH. 1, 2. Phila., 1869.
 OVERLAND MONTHLY. 1-15. San Francisco, 1868-75.
 OUB MONTHLY. 1-10. Cincinnati, 1870-74.
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